

2 numbers of the *Historical Review*
by Charles L. ...

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CASSANDRA.

(*But I Hope not*)

Telling what will come of it.

THE OCCASIONAL LETTER, &c. I GAVE OCCASION TO
TO THE OCCASIONAL LETTER, &c. I GAVE OCCASION TO
TO THE OCCASIONAL LETTER, &c. I GAVE OCCASION TO

AN **S**W **E**R
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TO THE OCCASIONAL LETTER, &c. I GAVE OCCASION TO
TO THE OCCASIONAL LETTER, &c. I GAVE OCCASION TO

The *New-ASSOCIATIONS*, &c.
Are **C O N S I D E R E D**.

E T A B L E

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of *Lo.*
and *Westminster*, 1704.

(But I Hope not)

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Occasional Letter*, Mark'd *Num. I.* Gave Occasion to Expect more of them. And the rather, for that this *First Letter* seems very Imperfect; And to have Reserv'd the *Proofs* of what he Asserts to a *Second Performance*.

But having waited thus long, and seeing no Prospect of that, we must take this, as it is, and make our Best of it.

There are some Particulars which are left for a *Num. II.* Not to swell this too much. But the *Contents* of it are put to this, with the *Appendix*, which serves for Both; because it will soon follow this: And, that the Reader may see before-hand what he is to Expect. And it may perhaps Prompt the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, to give Us likewise a *Num. II.* Which he has Implicitly *Promis'd*. And I suppose will Perform, if he has any thing to say to this.

ERRATA.

p. 16. l. 21. for lively read timely. p. 17. l. 10. read is that of.

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Cassandra.

WHEN GOD has determin'd *Destruction* to a *Nation*, he takes away their *Senses*, they have *Eyes* and *See* not, *Ears*, and *hear* not, they will not *Understand*.

There is a set of Men amongst Us who are Vifi-
bly Driving on (whether themselves know it or not) the
Ruin of these *Nations*; by setting up the *Principles*,
and carrying on the same *Pretences*, which began and
at last Completed the Bloody *Revolution* of *Forty-One*,
with the *Destruction* of the *Church*, the *King*, and
the *Laws*.

And when their *Principles* are Examined to the
Bottom; and their former *Practises* laid before them,
with all the *Dismal Consequences*; it has no other
Effect with them, than to Excite their *Rage* tenfold
more. They give no other *Answer* than the *Crafts-*
Men at *Ephesus*, to Cry out Hours together, *Great*
is our Diana!

And if this *Noise* and *Clamour* can Carry it against
Reason, the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the known
Laws of the *Land*, and our own *Sad Experience*, what
can be the Issue, but what it was before, if not
worse, as of *Sins Repeated*, our utter *Destruction!*

The *ten Tribes* who Revolted under *Sheba*, Return'd again: But never after their *Second* Defection under *Jeroboam*; till they were finally Cut off, and their *Name* lost upon the Earth to this Day. And it is observable, That in the Succession of *Nineteen Kings* which they had in that time, there was not one *Good*, tho' all of their own *Choosing*.

I. Of placing the Radical Power of Government in the People. The Root and Foundation of all our *Republican Schemes*, and Pretences for *Rebellion* is this suppos'd Radical Power in the *People*, as of Erecting *Government* at the Beginning, so to *Overturn* and *Change* it at their Pleasure.

To obviate this, the Author of the *New Association*, Part. 2d. Supplement. p. 4. &c. Carries Us to Matter of *Fact*, how *Political* Government did Begin in the *World*: And how the *World* was, at first, *Divided* into several *Nations*. And shews, That this was not done by the *Election* of the *People*; But by that most Stupendious *Miracle* of the *Division* of *Tongues*; whereby all of one *Language* sorting together, and *God* placing a *Governor* over them, they became a *Distinct Nation*. And he likewise tells Us, That from that first *Division* of the *World* into 70 *Distinct Nations* and *Languages*, Mention'd in the xth of *Genesis*, we have the *Names* of the several *Governors* where *Histories* have been Preserv'd, from *Nimrod* all the way to this Present *Emperor* of *Germany*, for Example, and so of others.

Then as to the Reason of the thing, he brings Arguments to shew, That *Government* cou'd not be Founded, nor the *World* *Divided* into *Nations*, upon that Foot of the *Election* of the *People*. That this *Hypothesis* wou'd Render all Governments *Precarious*, and Eternally Lyable to *Change* and *Confusion*. That it was never yet known, nor ever can be, what is meant by

by the word *People*, in this Scheme of Government. For the *whole People* never *Chose*. And a *Part* of the *People* is not the *Whole*. That the *Whole* or *Half* of the *People* do not *Choose* those who are call'd *Representatives* of the *People* in *England*. And far less in *Holland*, *Venice*, or any *Republick* that is in the *World*. That this *Scheme* of *Deriving Government* from the *People*, is much more *Destructive* of the *Rights*, *Libertys*, and *Safety* of *Mankind*, than the other *Model* of *Divine Right* in the *Governors*, as having their *Power* from *God*.

Now let Us see what is Answer'd to this, in the *Occasional Letter*.

As to the first part, the *Original* of *Government*, and the *Division* of *Nations*, it is said, p. 20. That *People* were at first *Divided* out of *Necessity*. And supposing the *Governor* not to do Right to his *People*, *They* wou'd have had a *Right* to have *Proceeded* to a *New Choice*. This supposes the first *Division* to have been by the *Election* of the *People*. And his bare saying so is all the *Proof* he brings. He Answers not a *Word* to the plain *Matter* of *Fact*, which is *Directly* against him. But adds, That he *Laughs* at *Divine Right*. And thinks it so *Trifling* an *Argument*, as not to *Deserve* a *Serious Consideration*. He says, *I cannot see any Reason* to think that *One Man* was *Exalted* so much above the *Rest*, for his own, but the *Peoples Sake*. That is *True*. But then there are several *Reasons* given in the *New Assoc*. Why it is best for the *People* not to have the *Choice* in themselves. And none of them are Answer'd. However this is going from *Matter* of *Fact* to *Reasoning*. Will they then yield the *Fact*? And let us *Reason* afterwards? He says, (*ibid.*) That when *Jacob* Died, we find no manner of *Superiority* left to his *Eldest Son* *Reuben*. This is *Objecting*, instead of *Answering*. What has this to do with the first *Division* of *Nations*? This is *Skip-*

ping from one thing to another, without Answering *Distinctly* to any thing. This go's upon the Point of the *Primogeniture*. Which is a Different Head of Argument, from the *Division* of *Nations*; and comes in the second place, the other being first settl'd. And settl'd it is, for any thing this *Author* says to the *Contrary*. Therefore I will Answer him as to this, That he will find the Right of the *Primogeniture* fully Asserted in that same Case of *Reuben*. *Gen. XLIX. 3.* Where *Reuben*, on Account of his *Primogeniture* only, is call'd the *Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power*. But he was Rejected (as *Cain* and *Esau* were) for his Wickedness, because he went up to his *Father's Bed*. ver. 4.

He says (*ibid*) *And when Division was made, it was by Lot*. What *Division* do's he mean? Was this the *Division* of *Nations*? Which is the Point he was to Answer. Or was it the *Division* of the *Holy Land* among the twelve *Tribes*, by *Joshua*? What has this to do with the *Peoples* Choice of their *Governours*? Was it the *Lots* suppoed to be Cast among the *Tribes, Families, and Persons*, upon the Election of *Saul*? But he was *Anointed* by *Samuel* before that. *1 Sam. x. i.* And it was *God* who order'd the *Lots* (if any) to be Cast. And the *People* knew not *Saul*, nor after the *Lot* fell upon him, where to find him. ver. 22. And when *God* had told them where he was, *Samuel* said to all the *People, see ye him whom the Lord hath Chosen*. ver. 24. So that here is no Foundation for the *Election* of the *People*, but the Direct *Contrary*. *Saul* first Chosen by *God*. Then *Reveal'd* to *Samuel*, and by him *Anointed*. Then shew'd to the *People* by him. Whether any *Lots* were Cast in the Case is not Certain, for there is no mention of it in the *Text*; only said that such a *Tribe*, such a *Family*, and such a *Person* was *Taken*. For ought we know, *Samuel* himself Nam'd them all. But

But that is not Material. For however it was, it was by God's exprefs ordering, without any *Election* of the *People*, as to the *Person*.

However this is Foreign to the first *Division* of *Nations*, and the *Original* of *Political Government*, upon which the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* do's Insist. And gives this Reason for it, p. 9. *That all Factions have Recourse to this, when they are about to Un-hinge and Overtur*n settled *Constitutions*. For the *Original Power* of *People* in *General*, is not to be taken from the special *Dispensation* given to any one *Nation* or *Particular People*; but from the *Rights* of *Mankind*, Consider'd in their *Natural State*. And whether the first *Division* of *Nations*, and *Original* of *Political Government* among *Men*, arose from *Mankind* in this *Suppos'd State* of *Nature*, and by their own *Free* and *Voluntary Election*: Or, whether by the *Institution* of *God*, without the *Election* of the *People*? Is the *Question* we are Concern'd to *Discuss*. For if the *Latter* be the *Case*, Then the *People* have no *Original Rights* to *Claim*, as to the *Disposition* of *Governments*.

But says the *Occasionalist*, p. 17. suppose *That Governments* were from the *Beginning* Instituted by *God*, and *That he set a Ruler* over every *Nation*. ---- *The People* had as much a *Divine Right* to their *Rulers Protection*, as they had a *Right* to *Govern*. And let us (says he) put matters upon this *Foot*, I shall be *Ready* enough to *Grant* a *Divine Right*.

Well then, we will put *Matters* upon this *Foot*! Now see if we can *Agree*.

I *Grant* therefore, *That People* have a *Right* to the *Protection* of their *Governours*. And a *Property* in their *Possessions*. And by the *Divine Law*. Inſomuch that if their *Rulers*, whom *God* has set over them do *In*vade their *Rights*, they make themselves obnoxious to the *Divine Law*, and to the *Judgment* of *God*, for ſo doing.

But now the Question still Remains, whether the People in such a Case, can Right themselves, by taking Arms against their Governours? By *Deposing* them, and *Choosing* others in their Room?

And for the *Negative* these Reasons are Urg'd in the *New Association*.

1. That the *Right* of the *Governors* being *Divine*, must, upon no Account, be *Invaed*. And that we make our selves *Obnoxious* to the *Divine Vengeance*, if we *Invaed* his *Right*! as he do's, if he *Invaed* ours.

2. That we cannot take *Arms* and *Depose* him, without *Assuming* the *Power* of *Government* to our selves; which upon the *Scheme* now suppos'd, is *Usurping* the *Sword* of *God*, which He never gave Us. And *Consequently* a *Rebellion* against *God*. Putting our selves in his Place. And a *Dissolving* of the *Constitution* which he has *Ordain'd* to *Represent* Himself; and by which he do's *Govern* the *World*.

3. That by *Un-hinging* of *Government*, and putting it in the *People*, we shall bring *Greater Mischiefs* upon our selves, than those we seek to *Avoid* under our *Governors* of *God's* Appointment. And our *Confusions* can have no *End*, in that *Frame* of things: Because the *Centre* of *Government* can never be *Fix'd* in the *People*; that being a word of no *Certain* Denomination. And *Contending* Parties may *Fight* it out, upon *Equal* Claim of *Right*, to the *End* of the *World*. Therefore that ther can be no *lasting Settlement*, no *Security*, but in a *Divine Right*, to which all ought to *Submit*.

4. Let me add, That our *Lives* are only at *God's* Disposal who gave them. He has not left them in our own *Power*. Therefore we cannot, by any *Acts* of ours, give that to others, which we have not our selves; Give to any other a *Power* over our *Lives*. And *Consequently* the *Power* of *Life* and *Death* can never be given by the *Election* of *People*; or any other ways than
by

by a *Divine Right*; without which, ther can be no Obligation, of *Conscience*, to obey any *Government*, or not to Overturn it, if I can Gain a Stronger *Party* to my Side; for then it is the *People*! And if the lesser Number Prevail, they are the *People*; and the *Ballance* of *Power* is on their side! The *Minor* may be the *Potior pars*. And setting aside *Divine* Authority, I know no Man has *Power* over me, more than I over him; since *Nature* has put us all upon a *Level*. And I will break loose from him, when I can, as from a *Robber*; and so may he from me. And if the *Major* Number say, you may Quit the Country, if you like not the *Frame* and *Constitution* which we have *Voted*. I will say, No. Who gave you *Power* to *Banish* me my *Country*? It is my *Country* as well as yours. And for the *Major* vote, the *Greatest* part of the *World* are *Knaves* and *Fools*. I am *Born Free*, and no Man has *Right* to take my *Freedom* from me. And if I can gather a *Party*, tho' *Fewer*, we will *Fight* you for it. I grant we do it, at our *Peril*. But what I say, is, That ther is no Obligation of *Conscience* on either side. There is no such thing as *Right* and *Wrong*, as *Just* or *Unjust*. Nor can ther be any *Settlement* of *Government*, till we come to a *Divine* *Right*. To what else should I give up my *Life* or my *Liberty*, if I can Preserve them? Tho' I should do it, by overturning twenty *Governments* that stand upon no other *Foundation* than what I carry within my own *Breast*, that is, the *Original* *Right* and *Freedom* of *Mankind*. By which, *Two* Men have no other *Power* over *One*, but *Force*. And that may be *Repell'd* by *Force*. Here is no *Authority*, to which I ought to *Obe*y, for *Conscience* sake.

As to the *Case* of *Usurpers*, and *Common-Wealths*, it is Answer'd in the *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 9. That the *Government* in being has the *Right*, where ther is none who Claim a *Better* *Right*. But this not from the *Election* of
the

the *People*, if that were Suppos'd, for no *Government* or *Constitution* was ever yet set up by the Free and Equal *Election* of All the *People*: But as *Possessing* that *Authority*, which *God* at first Founded in the *division* of *Nations*, and Design'd to continue to the End of the World. If those in *Possession* came wrongfully by it, they will Answer it to *God*. But still it is theirs of *Right*, where none *Claim* a better *Right* to it than they have. As a Man who *Steals* a *Hat*, has a *Right* to it against any but the *Owner*; so that if any others take it from him by *Force*, it is *Robbery* in them. And yet the Act of *Robbery* always Remains a *Sin*. And notwithstanding, *Possession* gives a *Right*, against all who have not a *Better Right*. And this arises from the Necessity of *Government*, which *God* Himself at first did *Institute*, and Ordain'd to *Continue*. And which never yet did, or ever can Devolve to the *People*. For that would be perfect *Anarchy*; which, as my *Ld. Bp. of Sarum* well says, *Opens a Door to Endless Confusions, which will never admit of Order or Remedy*. And he makes it worse than putting the *Power* into the Hands of the most Cruel *Tyrant*, even of the *Pope* himself.

Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland p. 68, 69.

Now let us see what the *Occasional Letter* says to these things.

It says thus p. 20. *And how unfit this Writer may imagine a Headly Multitude to be to fix upon Order or Government, yet 'tis certain, that Necessity will bring them to it; and it will be strange, if there should not be among them some, that have Heads wise enough to Invent a Scheme, for their Security and Protection, which the largest part will Agree to: And the Rest, if they please, may separate and remove, where they think to be better Govern'd.*

Now instead of this being an *Answer* to what is Advanc'd in the *New Assoc.* (Part of which is set down before) *That is a Direct Answer to This.* And it is shew'd there, That there can be no such *Scheme* Invented, by any
Heads

Heads how *Wise* soever. Why will they not shew such a *Scheme* to Us? They have been long about it! And many *Schemes* have they made. Yet none will Hold! They can never make one, upon the Foot of the *People*, that is not Altogether *Precarious*, *Non-sense*, and *Contradiction*. That can give any *Basis*, or *Settlement* to *Government*: Or oblige any to Submit for *Conscience* sake: Nay further, That do's not Destroy and Utterly Subvert their *Beloved* and *Foundation-Principle* of the *Original Freedom* and *Independance* of the *People*; Since all these *Schemes* end in a *Force* upon those, who will not Comply with their *Constitution*.

And all the *Answer* hitherto given by these *Scheme-Mongers*, is only to say, They are sure there may be such a *Scheme*! And it were *Strange* (as this Author says) *if there shou'd not!*

Finding no Relief in *Arguments* or *Schemes*, he Produces an *Instance*, which he thinks none *Dare Answer*. He Represents our *Constitution* and the *Laws*, as Founded upon the *People*. Then Proves that this Cannot be *Jure Divino*: And so his Point is Gain'd -----!

II.
Concerning the
Laws of
the *Land*,
and our
own *Con-*
stitution.

I shall the more willingly Answer this, because many are Deceiv'd by it; And understand not our *Constitution* or the *Laws*, or Wilfully *Mistake* them.

He begins p. 16. with making the *Queen* (or *King*) *Lords* and *Commons* the *three Estates*. And makes the *Ballance* of *Power* to Consist in their *good Agreement*. But says he, *If either grows Arbitrary, and Breaks through their Bounds at pleasure, then Publick Liberty is indeed in Danger, and we know not where to Look for it. But when the Regular order is observ'd, then 'tis very Easie to know where to find it. Here the Centre of Government is plac'd, and I hope will long Continue; Notwithstanding all*

the Trifling, Groundless Pretences of a *Jus Divinum* to prove it Unlawful.

Here is a *Centre* indeed, and a *Ballance*! One would think he were Playing *Booty*! He makes *three* Co-ordinate *Powers*, each at Liberty to *Encroach* upon the other, and Gain more of the *Ballance* to themselves; and if these, or any *One* of them should Differ with the *Other*; then he confesses ther is no *Centre* or *Ballance* at all! Ther is no *Judge* betwixt them, the *Sword* must Decide it.

Is it then a thing so Rare to be found, was it never Heard of, That *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* should Differ about their several *Powers*, *Priviledges*, and *Prerogative*?

Especially Considering that in the second Part of *New Assoc. Supl.* p. 11. Which this Author is here Answering, that same *Treatise* which in this very Page, p. 16. He calls a *Learned* and *Judicious* One, is Quoted, saying, That in the whole *Compass* of *History*, no one single *Example* can be brought, of any *One* popular *Assembly*, who after beginning to contend for *Power*, ever sate down *Quietly* with a *Certain* share. And that no *One* Instance could be produc'd of a *Popular Assembly* that ever *Knew*, or *Propos'd*, or *Declar'd* what share of *Power* was their *Due*. And concludes, That there is no *Hopes* of this *Matter* being *Adjusted*.

Now let this *Author* Answer his own *Learned* and *Judicious* *Treatise*; Or otherwise Confess, That his *Centre* and *Ballance* of *Power* is Impracticable, of which no *Instance* can be given in *History*; And no *Method* possible to be *Prescrib'd* for it, since none of the *Ballancers* do *Know*, and therefore cannot *Agree* what share of *Power* is their *Due*.

III.
of the
King, and
the three
Estates.

To make out this *Ridiculous* *Scheme* of *Government*, our *Modern* *Ballancers* of *Power* have *Reviv'd* again (and
for

for the same Ends) the *Traiterous* and long since Exploded *Notion* of their *Predecessors* in the *Rebellion* of *Forty One*; That the *King* is a *Part* of the *Parliament*, and *One* of the *Three Estates* of *Parliament*; and so *Co-ordinate* with the *two Houses* of *Lords* and *Commons*. That having thus brought him to a *Level* with his *Subjects*, they might the more easily *Depose* him.

This they Proclaim'd aloud in their *Observers*, and often Repeated. Which being fully and Judiciously Answer'd in the *Heraclitus*, *Num.* 10. 12, 13. That the *King* is none of the *Three Estates*, and several *Acts* of *Parliament* Quoted, which makes it clear past *Contradiction*, or other Answer from the *Observer*, than his *Buffoonry*, after this manner, *Let me have my Queen*, (as he *Insolently*, and in *Ridiculous* Treats Her *Majesty*) and *Lords* and *Commons*, and let him have as many *Estates* as he will.

But I was surpriz'd to find this *Author* of the *Occasional Letter* (whom I suppose of an *Higher Figure*) to *Chime* in with such *Senseless Scriblers*, and to *Trump* up this *Jargon* again upon Us! There must be some *Design* on Foot! If he had kept the *Church*, he might have found a *Solution* of this *Point*, in the *Office* for *Gunpowder-Treason* (which is likewise an *Act* of *Parliament*) where we Bless *God* for *Preserving* the *King*, and the *Three Estates* of this *Realm* *Assembled* in *Parliament*.

Who these *Estates* are, is plainly set down 24 *H.* 8. c. 12. The first are the *Prelates* or *Lords* *Spiritual*, Representing the *Body* *Spiritual*. The second are the *Temporal Nobility*, who sit in the same *House* with the *Spiritual Nobility*, as they are call'd 26 *H.* 8. c. 2. The *Nobles* *Spiritual* and *Temporal*. And the third *Estate* are the *Commons*. Thus say they to the *King*, 25 *H.* 8. c. 21. *Your Lords* *Spiritual*, and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, Representing the whole *State* of your *Realm*. But for the *King*, in the foresaid *Statute*, 24 *H.* 8. c. 12. He

is call'd the *One Supreme Head and King* --- Unto whom a *Body Politick*, compact of all sorts and Degrees of People, divided in Terms, and by Names of *Spirituality and Temporality*, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a *Natural and Humble Obedience*. He being also *Instituted and furnished by the Goodness and Sufferance of Almighty God*, with *Plenary, Whole, and Entire Power, Pre-eminence, Authority, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction*, to *Render and Yield Justice, and final Determination to all manner of Folk, Resiants or Subjects within this his Realm, in all Causes, Matters, Debates, and Contentions, &c.*

Here is a *Dernier Resort, and Centre of Government.*

And here the *Body of the People* is *Divided into Two Branches of Spirituality and Temporality*. Of the *Temporality* ther are two *Estates*, the *Lords Temporal*, and the *Commons*. But the *Body Spiritual* is a *Distinct Estate* by it self, and the *First* of the *Three*. And it is more *Distinct* from the other *Two*, than they are from each other, as differing from them, in a *Specificall Manner*; for they *Both* are *Comprehended under one Denomination of Temporality*, and are the *several Parts* of it; whereas the *Spirituality* is of a *Different Nature*, and *In-communicable*, with the other.

And this was made very *Apparent*, in that the *Body Spiritual* were not *Taxable by King and Parliament*, but only by *Themselves*. The *Possessions of the Church* being *Reckon'd the Patrimony of God*, being *Dedicated to Him and to His Church*; And therefore no *Temporal Power* could lay their *Hands upon it*, under *Peril of Sacrilege*.

And the *Clergy* were never *Taxed but by Convocation*, till the *Curfed Revolution of Forty-One*, which *overturn'd all Foundations*. And after the *Restoration*, when, before things cou'd be *Settl'd upon the Old Foot*, the *Taxings*

Taxings us'd by the *Usurpers*, was (for the Present only Intended to be) Continu'd. In the first *Act of Parliament*, which *Taxed* the *Clergy* in Common with the *Laiety*, there is an Express *Proviso*, Saving to the *Clergy*, their Antient and Undoubted *Right of Taxing* Themselves. But a *Precedent* once Made, it has been carry'd on to this Day.

And as the *Possessions*, so much more the *Persons* of the *Clergy* were Esteem'd so *Sacred*, as that, if any of them were Guilty of a *Capital Crime*, or which Deserv'd a *Personal Shame* or *Punishment*, Care was taken to Preserve the *Chara cter* from Sharing in the *Disgrace*, by the *Person's* being first *Degraded* by his *Spiritual Superiors*, and so Deliver'd up, as a *Lay-Man* to the *Brachium Seulare*.

If the *Church* wou'd not Deliver him up, there is no Reason that he shou'd Escape the *Judgment* of the *Law*, as it was in the times of *Popery*. But it is Highly Reasonable that shou'd be Try'd. If the *Church* Refuses, it is her Fault. And it is very Improbable She wou'd Refuse what Conduc'd so much to the Preserving of her *Authority* and *Reputation*.

Wou'd it be *Decent* to see a *Clergy-Man* Hang'd in his *Gown*?

And were it not fit some other Hand shou'd *Dis-Robe* him, than the *Executioner*?

The *Canonical Habit* is not so *Sacred* as the *Chara cter*.

We have seen *Clergy-Men* both *Whipp'd* and *Pillory'd*, and *Hang'd* too, within these few Years, without being *Degraded*, or the Question so much as Ask'd at their *Bishops*, or perhaps their Knowing it, but as others, from the *Publick News*.

Tho the *Exemption* of *Clergy-Men* from the *Secular Power*, even in *Secular Causes*, was an *Unreasonable* and *Unjust Usurpation* of *Popery*; yet *Christianity*, and Regard to *Religion* in General, do's Require, that the *Ministers*

nisters thereof, shou'd be so far Exempted from Publick Contempt, as that when they Suffer for Personal Crimes, their Punishment shou'd be only Personal, and their Profession not Suffer with them.

However, while the *Laws* so stood; no *Clergy-Man*, till Reduc'd to a *Lay-Man*, cou'd be Try'd by *Lay-Men*. Which Abundantly shews the *Spirituality* to be a Distinct *Estate*.

of Bishops
being Try-
ed by their
Peers.

And by the way, this seems a full Confutation of that (with Submission) *Vulgar Error*, even amongst our *Lawyers*, That a *Bishop* has all the *Privileges* of other *Peers*, except that of being Try'd by his *Peers*. For which the Reason given is, That there is no *Precedent* for it in our *Law*. How cou'd ther, when a *Bishop* cou'd not be Try'd at all, but by his *Fellow-Bishops*? These only were Reckon'd his *Peers*, as being *Members* of the *First Estate*: And no *Member* of one *Estate*, is to be Try'd by any other *Estate*, But when a *Bishop* was *Degraded*, he was put out of that *Estate*, and Reduc'd to a plain *Commoner*, and Try'd as such. The same as if a *Temporal Peer* were *Degraded*. There are *Temporal Peers* whose *Honours* are Annex'd to such a *Castle* or *Mannor*, which if they Sell, they Lose their *Honour* and *Peerage*. And after are to be Try'd by their then *Peers*, the *Commons*. I take the Cases to be Parallel. And tho the *Bishops* are mostly Reduc'd to the *Temporal Peerage*, except the *Priviledge* of *Absenting*, if they Please, in *Tryals* of *Blood*; yet surely they are not brought below that *Peerage*, while they Retain some *Priviledges* still above it. And while a *Bishop* is a *Peer*, he must have all the *Priviledges* of the *Peerage*; unless what is taken away by *Act* of *Parliament*. For what else can take it away? See the Learned *Bishop Stillingfleet* his *Grand Question*.

But to Return. Tho the *Body Spiritual* ever was, and is still so Distinguishingly the *First* of the *Three Estates*, yet it is but *Part* of the *Body* of the *Realm*. The *King*, and he *Only*, is the *Head* of the *Realm*. And

And the *Crown* belongs to Him *Alone*, without any *Partners*. And is in no *Earthly Subjection*, as it is Declar'd, 16 *Rich.* 2. c. 5. *That the Crown of England hath been so Free at all times, that it hath been in no Earthly Subjection, but Immediately Subject to God, in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other.* Then surely not to his Subjects. As the *Three Estates* are.

And thus they *Stile* themselves, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. Where *Both Houses of Parliament*, the *Lords Spiritual*, and *Temporal*, and *Commons* say to Her Majesty, *We your Faithful and Obedient Subjects, Representing the Three Estates of your Realm of England, &c.*

Many other *Statutes* may be Quoted to this Purpose. But it is strange that *Clamour* has not been silenc'd, by the *Act* (yet *un-repeal'd*) of 12 *Car.* 2. c. 30. Which was made on purpose against the *Traiterous Principles* and *Pretences of Forty One*, particularly this of making the *King Co-ordinate* with the *Two Houses of Parliament*, and *one of the Three Estates*; and explaining the former *Laws* in this Point. And there it is declar'd, *That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.*

And 13 *Car.* 2. c. 1. It is made *Premunire*, either by *Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking*, to *Declare or Affirm*, *That both Houses of Parliament, or either House of Parliament, have, or hath a Legislative Power, without the King, or any other Words to the same Effect.*

Again, in the same *Statute*. cap. 6. *That the Power of the Sword is solely in the King; And that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; Nor can, nor Lawfully may Raise or*
Levy.

or Levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against His Majesty, His Heirs, or Lawful Successors; and yet the contrary thereof hath of late Years been Practised, almost to the Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom; and during the late Usurp'd Governments, many Evil and Rebellious Principles have been distilled into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom, which, unless Prevented, may break forth to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet thereof.

And cap. 1. It is said, That the Growth and Encrease of the late Troubles and Disorders, did in a very great Measure proceed from a Multitude of seditious Sermons, Pamphlets and Speeches, daily Preached and Published, with a Transcendent Boldness defaming the Person and Government of your Majesty, and you Royal Father, wherein Men were too much Encouraged: And above all, from the Willful Mistake of the Supream and Lawful Authority, whilst Men were forward to cry up and Maintain those Orders and Ordinances, Oaths, and Covenants, to be Acts Legal and Warrantable, which in themselves had not the least Colour of Law or Justice to support them; from which kind of Distempers, as the Present Age is not yet wholly freed, so Posterity may be apt to Relapse into them, if a lively Remedy be not provided, &c.

I think enough has been said to clear the Sense of the Law in this Point, of the King being One of the Three Estates, and Co-ordinate with the other Two. Which wou'd make such a Centre and Ballance of Power, as three Kings of Branford! For indeed, it is setting up three Kings. What else are three Powers, each Independent and Un-accountable to Either or Both of the other? And, as our Author before Quoted says, when none of them Know, nor will Determine what Share of the Ballance of Power is their Due.

This is the Curious Watch we are told of in Dr. K---t's late Thanksgiving Sermon upon the 31st. of January, 170²/₄. Which, the oftner it is out of Order, shews the Greater Delicacy in the Stricture!

Ther

There is such a curious *Watch* now set up to *Auction* in *Poland*. And our *Whiggs* bid fair for it, to have it brought over hither, as a *Regulator* to our *Time of the Day*!

What a *Curious* thing would it be, if *Thirty two Palatines*, and every *Man* in *Poland* (of whom each has a *Negative*) should all *Agree* to a *Tittle*!

But if *One* starts out of the way, ther is a *Pin* lost in the *Watch*, and all is out of *Order*! Which shews the *Stricture* to be *Most Delicate*!

Such is of the *Power* of the *People* with *Us*, which every *Man* may set up, for or against *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*, as he thinks fit. And *Legion* against them *All*! Of which ther is a *New Edition* just now come out, with *Additions* of *Millions*.

The *Author* of the *Occasional Letter* having Dress'd up the *Constitution* of *England* in such a *Frame* as this, had Reason to say, as he do's in the same *Page* before *Quoted*, p. 16. *Now this Government of ours so Modclled, can Never be said to be Deriv'd to us by any Divine Right. No indeed! Nor by any Right, or even Common Sense! But this is come upon him and his New Accomplices, as the words of the Act of Parliament before Quoted says, from a wilful Mistake of the Supreme and Lawful Authority.*

But he goes on, and says, p. 17. *Ifancie those that Contend most for the Divine Right of Kings, will Allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People, As I'm sure ours are.*

Now suppose Another shou'd be as *Positive* as you are? And as *Sure*, that you *Cannot* be *Sure*! For however *your Monarchs*, as you *Call* them, or *Wou'd* have them, are *Limited*, I am sure it is not by the *People*. But by a *Party*, that call themselves the *People*, as every other *Party* of the *People* may, and always do, when they *Rise* up to *Overturn Governments*.

You may say, the *People* are *Represented* as well as you can

Contrive. That may be. But you can never Contrive it. How are they *Represented*, when much the *Major Number* have no Vote in the *Election*? How can it be, When, according to the *Scheme of Power* in the *People*, the Consent of every *Individual* is Necessary? As Mr. L.—K. makes it out in his so much Fam'd *Two Treatises of Government*, Book 2. Chap. 8. p. 316. Printed, 1690. But in this *Sense*, the *People* are such an *Unwieldy Body*, that they can do nothing, can do no *Act*, either *Good* or *Bad*! not so much as to Ask, *What's a Clock*?

But in the Position of which you are so *Sure*, there is the word *Lawfully*, ---*Cannot Lawfully* be *Limited*?---Now if by *Lawfully* you mean, according to the *Law of the Land*, you are Determin'd by the *Act of Parliament* just now quoted, which makes it *Unlawful* for Either or Both *Houses of Parliament*, or for the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively* to have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

But if by *Lawful*, you mean not the *Law of the Land*, but the *Law of Nature*, by which *Government* was first Erected among *Mankind*; then you must come to the *Original*, and the first *Division of Nations*. And see if you can give a Plainer Account of it, and better *Vouch'd*, than the *New Assoc.* has shew'd from *Genesis*. To which you have given no Answer. And let me add, that this *Division of Nations* was not brought to pass *Gradually*, in a long *Tract of Time*, and in several *Ages*, as *People* Multiply'd and Spread over the *Earth*: But it was one *Act*, done at one *Time*, by that most Astonishing *Miracle* of the *Division of Tongues*, which did Distinguish the *Nations*. And that this was a most Remarkable *Time*, and Greatly *Notic'd*, appears from *Gen.* x. 25. When the Name of *Peleg* (which signifies *Division*) was given to the Son of *Eber*, for, as the *Text* says, *In his Days was the Earth Divided*. This was one of the most Memorable *Aeraes* of the *World*. And ought not to be *Forgotten* by Us. How can it be *Forgotten*, while the

the *Mark* of it still Remains with Us, that is, the Multiplicity of *Languages*? But it is Forgotten! And the best Reason I can Assign for it, is, That our *Republican Virtuoso*es, who are generally *Deists*, are better vers'd in *Heathen Authors*, than in the *Holy Scriptures*; which they seldom Read, but to *Ridicule*, or pick *Holes* in them. They are not in the Class of their *Belle-Lettre*. And *Horace* or *Tacitus* is a better *Text* with them, than *Genesis*. But as there is no *Heathen Author* Extant so Ancient as *Moses*, so likewise (as we are told in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 8.) there is no *Heathen History* whatsoever, wherein there is the least *Footstep* or *Umbrage* of this *Independent Condition* of *Mankind*, when they were All in this suppos'd State of *Nature*, without any *Government* among them. Therefore these *Scheme-makers* go to their own *Brains*, and Invent, *Contrive*, and *Fancy* such *Times* and *Circumstances* of *Mankind*, as never were in the World! And from thence (to shew their *Ingenuity*) Frame such *Models* and *Original* of *Government*, as are all *Impossibilities*! And at the same time, call this Account from *Genesis*, a *Precarious Supposition*. As this *Occasional Letter* does, p. 17. If the *History* of *Genesis* be *Precarious* with Them, they are desir'd to shew a *Better* on their side.

And this is not meer matter of *Speculation*. It is of the Highest *Importance* to have it *Settl'd* and *Determin'd*. Because it is the only *Asylum* to which our *Mutinous* and *Seditious Spirits* do fly, when they are about making *Insurrections*, and disturbing of *Government*.

For no *Constitution* can be broken by its own *Laws*, which were made to *Preserve* it. You see in what is before Quoted, how *Positive* and *Express* our own *Laws* are, in *Barring* out all the *Pretences* of *Rebellion*. Therefore the *Seditious* will not be *Determin'd* by our *Laws* or *Constitution*; but Fly *Higher*, to the *Original* of

Government in the World. And there they think they have *Scope* enough to *Amuse*, and *Suppose* just to their own *Humour*! Therefore, as they have stated the *Case*, this is the very *Jugulum Cause*. It is the first *Step* we must take, and then the rest will go on more *smoothly*.

Let them then give an *Account*, and name the *Time*, when *Political Government* began in the *World*; And *How*, and by what *Methods* the *World* was *Divided* into several *Nations*. Whether this was done by an *Equal Poll* or *Vote* of the whole *World* gather'd together; or their *Votes* sent from *far*, to set the *Bounds* and *Meres* of every *Country*, and *Determine* who and who should live in each, in the *Worst* Countries, as well as the *Best*; and who should be the *Ruler* in each *Country*? Let them shew this, or make it *Possible*, upon the *Foot* of the *People*!

Now in the *New Assoc.* in the Place last Quoted, there is an Attempt made to shew every one of these Particulars. First, That it was the *Most High*, who *Divided the Nations*. Deut. xxxii. 8. Secondly, That it was done by the *Division of Languages*. That they were *Divided, after their Tongues, in their Countries, and in their Nations*. Gen. x. 20. Thirdly, *That in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, He (God) set a Ruler over every People*. Ecclus. xvii. 17. Fourthly, That this was done in the Days of *Eber*, which made him call his Son *Peleg*, *For in his Days was the Earth Divided*. Gen. x. 25.

We are told likewise in the same Place of the *New Assoc.* That this was about an Hundred Years after the *Flood*; when *Mankind* were so *Encreased*, as to be thus *Divided*. Before which *Time*, we may well suppose that *Noah* had the *Supreme Government*. Tho' several *Families* might be *Manumitted*, and have a distinct *Government* of their own, under the several *Heads* of *Families*,

Families, yet with a *Due Subordination* to their *Common Parent*. But before this *Time* of the *Division* of the *Earth*, we Read no where of *Nations*. And therefore we may take the Rise of *Political Government* from this *Original*. And we must stick to it, till our *Popular Orators* can shew a *Better*.

But the great *Prejudice* remains still, That if the *Original* of *Political Government*, be thus *Immediately* from *Divine Institution*: And that every *Ruler* now, (where there is no *Competition* by any other, who claims a *Better Right* than he in *Possession*) do's succeed to the same *Divine Right* which God gave to the first *Rulers*, whom he *Plac'd* over every *People*, at the first *Division* of *Nations*: Then it will follow, That no *Ruler* can be *Limited* by the *People*, or *Any* of them; and consequently, That all *Governments* must be *Absolute* and *Arbitrary*. Which makes a *Dreadful Sound* to *English Ears*!

This is the meaning of what is before *Quoted* out of this *Occasional Letter*, p. 17. *Ifancy those that Contend most for the Divine Right of Kings, will allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People.*

As to the *Lawfulness*, and by what *Law*; I have spoke already. But that this may not seem a *Put off*, I will *Answer* more *Directly*.

There are *Limitations* of *Concession*, and *Limitations* of *Coertion*. The first sort as well as the last, are always given by *Superiors* to their *Inferiors*. Thus the *Great God* is *Pleased* to *Limit* Himself, when He makes *Covenants*, and grants *Conditions* to *Mankind*. And is *Oblig'd* by His *Veracity*, to *Perform* them.

Thus *Fathers* may *Limit* themselves to their *Children*.

And thus, *Kings* may *Limit* themselves to their *Subjects*. By *Granting* them such and such *Laws*. And gi-
ving

IV.
Concerning
the Limitations of
Government.

I.
Limitations of Con-
cession.

ving them the Assurance of their Solemn *Oaths* to observe them.

Original Contract. And this is all the *Original Contract* can be shew'd betwixt *Kings* and *People*. But it is neither *Original*, nor *Contract*.

First, not *Original*. Because *Laws* are made by *Kings*. Therefore *Kings* must be before *Laws*. Let the *Law* be Produc'd that made the first *King*; even here in *England*. We have been under *Kings*, as far as *History* can carry Us. And all the *Laws* that we have, have been made by *Kings*.

Our *Parliaments* do Recognize our *Kings*. See the *Acts* of Recognition, 1 *Eliz. c. 3.* And 1 *Jac. c. 1.* Where the *Parliament* acknowledges their Prior Right from the Proximity of Blood; which is call'd the *Law of God*, as well as of *Man*. These *Parliaments* did not Pretend to Make them *Kings*, or to Bestow the *Crown*, as at their Disposal. But did, in most Humble Manner, Recognize and Acknowledge their Right, as from *God*. And thereunto (says the *Parliament*) We most Humbly and Faithfully do Submit and Oblige our selves, our Heirs and Posterity for Ever, until the last Drop of our Bloods be spent.

Secondly, *Laws* which *Kings* make, are no *Contracts*. They are wholly *Concessions* on one side. On the side of the *King*. Our *Magna Charta*, which begins our *Statute-Book*, is Wholly and Solely from the *King*. And express'd to be Granted of his Meer and Free-will.

Afterwards the *Lords* or the *Commons* did humbly *Petition* to the *King*, that such *Laws* should be made. As the *Stile* of our former *Acts* of *Parliament* do's shew.

Be it Enacted by the *King*, or Our Sovereign Lord the *King* hath Ordain'd, by the Advice of the *Lords*, and the Humble *Petition* of the *Commons*, &c.

The *Lords* might Advise, and the *Commons* may *Petition*, but the *Enacting* Part is only in the *King*. He Enacts

Enacts with their Advice, not *They with His*. He only is *Sovereign*, in all *Causes*, and over all *Persons*.

Not by way of having a *Negative Voice*, as one of ^{Kings} the *Three Co-Ordinate Powers* (according to the *Stile* of ^{f Negative} *Forty One*, and of our *Present Whiggs*) for *Three*, or *Three-score Negatives* cannot make an *Affirmative*. A *Negative* is only saying, *This shall not be a Law*. But who has *Power* to say, *This shall be a Law*? And whose saying so, do's make it a *Law*? That is only the *King*. Whose *Fiat* stamps the *Authority* of a *Law* upon what the *three Estates* have *Prepar'd*. And if he *Likes* it not, he may *Reject* it. The *three Estates* may bring *Bullion*: But it is the *Impression* of the *King's Image*, and *Superscription*, and That *only* which makes it *Coin*. And it is *Treason* to *Counterfeit* it.

Now tho' the *King* has *Limited* himself: by way of *Concession*, not to make *Laws* without the *three Estates*: Yet he has not *Parted* with any of his *Prerogative* to them. Nor *Parcell'd* out the *Supreme Power* among these *Estates*, as some foolishly think.

For all *Power* is *One* and *In-Divisible*, whether in the *Hands* of *One* or *Many*. There must be a *Dernier Resort*, or there can be no *Government*. And where this is in an *Assembly*, that *Assembly* is one *Body*, as one *Person*. And the *Particular Persons* who *Compose* that *Assembly*, have not the *Power* shar'd among them, none of them have any *Part* of the *Power* at all. For the *Act* of the *Body* only is the *Law*.

Now in such a *Constitution* it is necessary, that every *Member* of this *Assembly* should have *Free* and *Equal* *Vote*, That one should not have a *Commanding Power* over another. Nor the *Power* of *One* be *Deriv'd* from *Another*. But every *Member* sits there, by the same *Authority*.

But how different is this from our *Constitution*? Where the *King* is *Supreme* and *Sovereign*, and his *Crown Imperial*?

perial! Where both *Houses of Lords and Commons* stile Themselves His Majesty's Most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects! And take Oaths of Allegiance to him, Asserting him to be the Only Supreme Governor, in all Causes, and over all Persons.

Whose Authority gives Being to, and Creates the Parliament. And Dissolves them at his Pleasure, with the Breath of his Mouth!

Infomuch that the same Persons Meeting without his Authority, are an Un-Lawful Assembly; and Punishable by the Law!

How then can *this* Authority be Deriv'd from Them! Can the Creature make its Creator!

Are They then Co-Ordinate Powers with Him, who Derive what Authority they have from Him!

And as the King may bring what Persons he Pleases into the House of Lords, without asking their Consent; He has not so far yet Limited Himself: So the Limitation of what Persons shall Vote for Members of the House of Commons, is Wholly and Solely from the King, as All our Laws are. This was never Determin'd by a Free and Equal Vote of all the People. Let our Commonwealths-Men shew that! As for what Advice the King took in doing of this, That is not the Matter. The Parliament is call'd the King's Great Council.

And we have several Acts of Parliament wherein the King did not take the Advice of all the Three Estates. As 3 Rich. 2. c. 2. Our Lord the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Lords Temporal---- hath Ordain'd and Establish'd, &c. This was a Case wherein the Bishops were Concern'd. And therefore their Advice was not Ask'd. And 13 Rich. 2. c. 1. In a Case where the Commons were Complainers, the King Enacts, By the Assent of the Great Men and Nobles. Several other Instances of this sort may be given. And tho' the Method be Alter'd now, and all our Acts carry by Advice and Consent of the

Three Estates Distinctly Nam'd, viz. *Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons*; yet all this is from the *King*. He could not have been *compell'd* to it. It is a *Limitation of Concession* which he has Granted.

Our *Constitution* was not Always as it is now. They who are vers'd in the *Rolls of Parliament*, will find there *Precedents of Parliaments*, summoned without either *Citizens* or *Burgesses*, only *Knights*, sometimes *Two*, sometimes but *One*. Of *Parliaments* Summon'd for one *Knight*, two *Citizens* and two *Burgesses*. *Parliaments* Summon'd to meet in less than *Forty Days*. And after *Summons*, *Dissolv'd* before *Meeting*. Summon'd to one *Place*, and before *Meeting* Order'd to another *Place*, and to a further *Day*. They will find *Writs* requiring the same *Members* as in the *Preceding Parliament*. *Writs* directed to *Corporations* for two *Burgesses*, and to the *Sherriffs* but for one *Knight*: They will find the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons* (in *Vacation*) taken in *Execution*, and *Imprison'd*, and a *New Speaker* Chosen. So that their *Privileges* were not always as they are Now. Nay no longer ago than the *Reign of Queen Eliz.* We find her *Limiting* the *Freedom of Speech* in the *House of Commons* to the bare giving of their *Vote*, *Yea* or *No.* But not to meddle with *Reforming* or *Transforming* either *Church* or *Commonwealth*. And the *Speaker* order'd to *Reject* such *Bills*, if offer'd, until they be view'd and consider'd of by those whom it is fitter shou'd consider of such things, and can better *Judge* of them. And the *Privilege* of their *Persons* so *Limited*, as That no *Man's ill doings*, or not performing of *Duties*, be *Covered* or *Protected*. And the third *Petition* of *Access* to Her *Majesty*, *Restrain'd* only to *Weighty Causes*, and when she was at *Leisure*. I have not added the *Quotations* of the *Rolls of Parliament*, in the *Particulars* before-mention'd, for *Brevity* sake; and because few *Readers* can *Consult* them; and they who are *Conversant* in them, do

Town-
shen's Col-
lections
Printed
1680. p.
37, 38.

Know all this. But they are ready when call'd for, upon any occasion, and more to the same Purpose; which I suppose will not be deny'd by any body.

But I will Quote a *Book* which every one may Consult, and which shews the different *Methods* of Management in *Parliament* from what is now. It is *Cotton's Abridgement of the Records, &c.* Revised by *Will. Prynne.* London Printed 1657. There you will find *Petitions* and *Bills* in *Parliament*, whereof the *King Granteth Part*, and *denieth Part.* p. 48. n. 12. n. 17. n. 19. p. 56. n. 24. p. 57. n. 30. p. 74. n. 16. p. 138. n. 177.

Again *Granted* with *Exceptions, Addition, Explanation*, or upon *Condition.* p. 39. n. 34. p. 46. n. 44. p. 48. n. 14. p. 60. n. 45. p. 62. n. 57. Answer to the *Articles* of the *Clergy.* p. 33. n. 33. p. 70. n. 8. n. 19. p. 80. n. 29. p. 82. n. 15. p. 96. n. 12. p. 97. n. 19. p. 118. n. 20. p. 126. n. 67. p. 130. n. 109. p. 131. n. 113. 115. p. 132. n. 124. p. 140. n. 199. p. 159. n. 57. p. 152. at the End. p. 166. n. 131.

Now the Use I have to make of these things, is to shew, That neither the *Constitution* or *Priviledges* of *Parliaments* are *Original Rights*, or *Fundamentals*; but *Variable* and *Chargeable.* Nor do they Flow from the *People* at all, but are, and ever were the *Concessions* and *Grants* of *Kings*, and nothing else.

And as to all these *Limitations*, I now say, in Direct Answer to our *Author*, That the *King* cannot be Lawfully *Limited* by the *People.* He cannot be Limited but by Himself, That is by the *Law*, which is made by Him, and cannot be made without Him.

2. But now as to *Limitations* of *Coercion.* No *Supreme Power* can Grant any such. Because it *ipso facto* Dissolves the *Government.* For it sets up a *Power* that is *Superior*.

to the *Supreme*, which is a *Contradiction*. And the *Supreme* does *ipso facto* cease to be *Supreme*, and that other *Superior* becomes *Supreme*. And if *Power of Coercion* be given to *Another* over that *Superior*, that *Other* becomes *Supreme*. And so in *Infinitem*. There can be no *Basis* or *Centre of Government*, at this Rate.

Therefore my Lord Bacon sets this down as a *Maxim* of our *Law*, as well as of *Reason*, That *Suprema Potestas seipsam Dissolvere potest, Ligare non potest*. That the *Supreme Power* may *Dissolve* it self, but cannot *Limit* it self. This is to be understood of *Limitations* of *Coercion*. For, no Doubt, the *Supreme Power* may *Grant Concessions*. But not so, as to give any other *Power* over it self; for that *Dissolves* it.

Now as it is *Absurd* and *Blasphemous* to say, That *God* can *Limit* Himself, so as to put Himself under the *Coercive Power* of any. So is it *Treasonable* and *Inconsistent* with *Government* to say, That the *King* can. And this is sufficiently *Secur'd* in the *Acts* of *Parliament* before Quoted, which declare, That neither the *Parliament*, nor the *People*, either *Collectively*, or *Representatively*, have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

My *Father*, as my *King*, may *Limit* the *Power* he has over me, by *Concessions* to me. But to say, That this *Infers* a *Coercive Power* in me over him, so that if he breaks those *Conditions* to me, as I think, or please to *Pretend*; I may lawfully lay *Hands* upon him, turn him out of *Doors*, and seize upon his *House* and *Inheritance* for my self: This *Principle* would *Dissolve* all *Relations*, as 'twixt *Children* and *Parents*, so betwixt *King* and *Subjects*, *Servants* and *Masters*, and in short, of *Whole Mankind*.

And this is the most *Effectual Barr* to hinder *Kings*, *Fathers*, or *Masters* to give any *Concessions*. And introduceth a *Necessity* of a *Rigorous Government*: Since no

Favour can be shew'd, without the *Destruction* of the *Donor*.

V.
The best
Security a-
gainst Ty-
ranny.

Therefore the best *Security* we can have against *Tyranny* in our *Governours*, is, by a *Dutiful Submission*, to Encourage them to be Good to Us. And by *Loyal Principles* to render them *Safe* and *Secure* in whatever *Concessions* they shall Please to Give Us. No Man ever yet Hated his own *Flesh*, but Loveth and Cherisheth it. All Men desire to preserve their *Possessions*, and what *Belongs* to them. The *Glory* of a *King* is the *Multitude*, the *Riches*, and *Strength* of his *Subjects*. And while they are *True* to him, he must wish their *Prosperity*.

But *Provocations* and *Eternal Teazing*, the *Dis-Loyalty* and *Rebellion* of *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, and *Subjects*, may make a Man hate his own *House*, and seek all *Means* to *Reduce* them.

And this brings *Ten-fold* more *Ruin* and *Destruction* upon them than ever any *People* suffer'd, by *Quietly* Submitting to the most *Merciless Tyrant*.

If they should *Depose* their *King*, their *New Protector* and *Deliverer* may prove more *Tyranical* than He. And if they set up a *New Captain* against their *Deliverer*, he may Prove *Worse*. Besides, what every such new *Experiment* must cost them. Till they come at last to say with the wretched *Sicilians*, as Quoted in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc.* p. 33. 34. *That they who came to Deliver them from Tyranny, prov'd the Greatest Tyrants themselves, and made their Freedom much more Dismal than their former Servitude.*

But no *Age* or *History* can afford Us *Instances* of this, beyond our own. I know none can Equal the *Horrid Tyranny* and *Oppression* of our *Deliverers* and *Patrons* of *Liberty* in the *Times* of *Forty-One*.

Among

Among the many Particulars of which (too long here to be Repeated) I will at Present name but *One*, in the very *Infancy* of their *Rebellion*, when they were making the *Fairest Pretences*, in the Year 1642. A *Committee* only of the *House of Commons*, consisting of these *Worthy Patriots*, having first, by *Authority* and *Force* of their *Mobb*, *Driv'n away* some, and *Imprison'd* others of the *Lawful Members* of their *House*, who they knew would stand by the *Laws*; did Assume to *Themselves* the Name of the *People of England*; and by an *Ordinance* of their own, without *King* or *House of Lords*, did Impower *Four Men* of their own *Choosing*, to *Value* every *Man's Estate*, at what they *Pleas'd*; (except their own, the *Taxing* of which they *Reserv'd* to *Themselves*) and to *Levy* from them what *Summ* they thought fit, within the *Twentieth Part*; (that is indeed what *Summ* they *Pleas'd*, for they could *Value* at what they *Pleas'd*) And for *Non-Payment*, to *Distrain* by the *Train-Bands*; and for want of sufficient *Distress*, to *Compound* and *Discharge* all *Debts* due to them; and if they suspected any to *Conceal* the *Debts* due to them, to *Imprison* their *Persons* during *Pleasure*, and *Banish* their *Wives* and *Children*. And these *Four Assessors* to be *Un-Accountable* to any *Law* or *Authority* whatsoever, only to their *Constituents*; for They were now the *People!* that is, the *Supreme Authority!* This you will see at Large in *Lord Clarendon's History*, *Vol. 2. p. 77.* Read from *p. 75. to p. 82.*

Here is an Example of Preserving *Liberty* and *Property*, by the *Power* of the *People!*

And all this, to secure themselves from the *Encroachments*, and the *Fears* they Rais'd of the most *Merciful* and *Benign Prince* that ever sat on the *English Throne!* Who Granted away to them, by *Piece-meal*, as they were *Pleas'd* to *Demand* it, all the *Power* and *Prerogative* of the *Crown*; to *satisfie* their *Jealousies*. But they were not

Satis-

A notable Instance of Liberty and Property.

Satisfied, while the *Crown* sat upon his *Head*, or his *Head* upon his *Shoulders*!

VI. *Whether the Un-Reasonableness of People, or the Mal-Administration of Kings are most to Blame?*
 And when we look into *History*, and find this to have been Generally the *Fate* of the most *Mild* and *Gracious Princes*; it Prompts Us to Reflect, with a *General View*, upon the Condition of *Deprav'd Humane Nature*. And to consider, whether the Cause of *More Rebellions* and *Convulsions* of *Government* has Arisen from the *Mal-Administration* of *Princes*; or from the *Petulancy* and *Un-Reasonableness* of the *People*?

And because we may be sure of *Right Information*, we will take it from the *Sacred Records*.

Moses. *Moses* was the *Meekest* Man upon *Earth*. So *Just*, that he had never taken an *Ox* or an *Ass* from any of the *People*. Gave them the *Wiseest* *Laws* in the *World*, from the *Mouth* of *God* Himself. Was set over them by *God*. He *Rescued* them from the *House* of *Bondage*, by a *Multitude* of *Miracles*. Had such a *Fatherly Affection* to them, as if he had *Begotten* them All.

Deut. ix. 9. 18. 25. Three several times he fell down before the *Lord*, forty *Days* each time, without *Eating* or *Drinking*, once to Receive the *Law*, and *Twice* to *Deprecate* the *Sin* of the *People*, for which *God* said he would have *Destroy'd* them, had not *Moses* His *Chosen* stood before Him in the *Gap*, to Turn away his *Wrathful* *Displeasure* from them. He *Pray'd* to be *Blotted* out of the *Book* of *Life* Himself, to *Save* that *People*; tho' *God* *Promis'd* him, to *Raise* out of him, a *Greater Nation* than they.

One would think it *Impossible* for any *People* to *Mutiny* or *Rebel* against such a *Governor* as this! Yet never any was so *Tormented*, as this *Meek* Man, with their *Continual Insurrections*. Infomuch that he *Pray'd* to
 God

God to take away his *Life*, rather than Bear it. They laid *Arbitrary Government* upon him, and *Ambition*, to make himself altogether a *PRINCE* over them. They did not like this *Governor* of God's Appointment: They were for *Popular Election*. They would Choose for Themselves. And they said one to another, Let Us make a *Captain*. And what would they do with *Moses*? Why Stone him!

They *Rebell'd*. Twice against *David*, a Man after God's own Heart, whose Son *CHRIST* delighted to be call'd. He Fed them with a Faithful and True Heart, and Ru'd them Prudently, with all his Power. He was Glorious in War. And Subdu'd their Enemies under them. But all that was nothing! Nay, but whom the Lord, and this People, and all the Men of *Israel* Choose, His will I be, and with him will I abide. This is the first time we heard of that *Maxim, Vox Populi, vox Dei*. That the Choice of the People, is the Choice of God!

But if *David's* Reign was Incumber'd with War, tho' Victorious, and that they had a Mind to Live at Ease, his Son *Solomon* (of God's own Choosing too) gave them perfect Peace and Plenty Un-Parallel'd: He advanc'd their Trade; and made Silver as Stones in *Jerusalem*. They were the Envy of all Nations for Riches. He built them a Temple, the Glory of the whole World. And was the Wisest of All ever Begot by Man.

Yet, all this wou'd not do! They Complain'd of Taxes, and his Yoke was Heavy! And they *Rebell'd* against his House for Ever.

There is but one Step Higher to go in this Scale; and that is to God Himself. For after the Meekest and Jafest, the most Pious and Victorious, the most Peaceable, Richest, and Wisest, whom else of Mortal Race shou'd we Name!

But

But *God* did once Vouchsafe to take the *Government* into His own Hands, and to be *King* Himself. He Nam'd all their *Captains* and *Judges*, and went out before their *Armies*. But they grew *Weary* of this *Theocrasie*, and in the Days of *Samuel*, they *Rejected* *GOD* too from being their *King*! And would *Choose* for *Themselves*! And of *All* they *Chose*, not *one* Prov'd *Good*.

Now let us look a little to the other Side, of the *Perverseness* that is found among the *Generality* of *Mankind*. As we have seen how *Un-easie* and *Mutinous* they are under the most *Mild* and *Gentle* *Governments*; So, on the other hand, where they are *Rul'd* with a *strait* Rein; and even *Tyrannically*, they commonly speak *Best* of those *Princes*, and *Adorn* their *Memories*.

How the *Mild* Family of the *Stuarts* have been *Treated* since they came into *England*, I need not *Repeat*.

And yet none of those *Severities* can be *Allegd*'d in any of their *Reigns*, as were in those of *Hen. VIII.* or *Q. Eliz.*

That *Usage* which either of them gave their *Parliaments* would not be borne now. *Swearing* at them; and taking their *Members* out of the *House*, and *Imprisoning* them during *Pleasure*, and not suffering any *Reason* to be ask'd them for it. And yet *K. Car. I.* but desiring *Justice* against five of their *Members*, was a *Breach* of *Privilege*, and a sufficient Ground for a *Rebellion*!

He *Courted* the *Fanaticks*, *Establish'd* them in *Scotland*, *Indulg'd* them in *England*, and even made himself a *Sacrifice* to them. Yet they *Hate* his *Memory*.

Q. Eliz. *Prosecuted* them with the *Utmost* *Rigor*. Made *Severe* *Laws* against them, and put them in full *Execution*. She reckon'd them as her worst *Enemies*, even worse than the *Jesuits* themselves, and to have
been

been Instrumental in the *Spanish Invasion*. As you may see in the Lord Chancellor *Puckering's* Speech, which I have therefore *Annexed*. Num. 3. And yet they Pretend to Reverence her *Memory!*

One Cause of which I take to be, That when Men are Hinder'd from any *Wickedness*, they are willing to take the *Honour* to themselves, of never having *Design'd* it. But rather to have *Suffer'd* under an Un-just *Suspicion*, Which Use some of the *Dissenters* late Books have made of their Patient *Suffering* under *Q. Eliz.* as a *Testimony* of their *Loyalty* and *Passive-Obedience-Principle*, to *Vie* therein with the *Church of England*.

On the other hand, when Men have *Perpetrated* their *Wickedness*, they think themselves obliged to stand by it, and *Justifie* it. And therefore must not afford a good Word to those whom they have *Injur'd*; for that is to *Condemn* themselves. And herein is that *Saying* Verified, *That it is he who doth the Injury, cannot Forgive.*

Another Reason there is for this *Perverse Temper* of *Men*. That the *Multitude* are like the *Waters* (as they are often Represented in the *H. Scriptures*) which will go, as far as they have Way. And when they who bear the *Sword of God*, will suffer *Pernicious Principles* to be *Spread*, and the *Populace* to *Rage* and *Swell*; As they are *Accountable to God*, for Bearing His *Sword* in *vain*, and suffering His *Authority*, with which they are *Entrusted*, to be vilely *Prostituted* to the *Beasts* of the *People*: So they often let these *Bad Humours* Encrease, till they are *Involv'd*; and seek to *Extricate* themselves by mean *Compliances*, which Render them and their *Authority* more and more *Contemptible*; till at last it be *Wrested* out of their *Hands*; and they themselves often *Perish* with it. For that *Maxim* must for ever remain *Ir-Refragable*; That it is in *vain* seeking to *Compound* with those vvho *Contend* for *Power*. For the more they,

get, the more they must have till they have All. Can one *Exception* be Produc'd !

Therefore *Q. Eliz.* Watch'd the Beginnings of the *Faction*, and kept them under ; from so much as any *Expectation* of coming into *Places* of *Power* or *Trust* ; And she had *Peace* and *Quietness* with them ; And has their *Good Word* still.

But *K. Car. I.* Endeavour'd to *Compound* with them, and Gave them *Part*, that they might not *seek* the *Whole* ! For which they *Condemn'd* him as a *Tyrant* and a *Traitor*. And have his *Memory* in *Detestation* !

It had been much better for the *Nation* to have had a *Rigorous King* over them, than a *Prince*, tho' of never so many *Personal Vertues*, who, out of a *Mistaken Clemency*, should let *Factions* Grow, to the *Destruction* of the *People*.

VII.
of Ty-
ranny and
Revolu-
tion.

A *Tyrant* must *Die*, or may become *Better*. God says, That the *Hearts* of *Kings* are in His Hands, and he turns them, as it seemeth best to Him. He sends *Good Kings* to a *Good People* ; and *Wicked Princes* for the *Punishment* of a *Wicked People*.

But when we have over-turn'd the *Foundation* of *Government* ; will let it be no longer from *God*, but set it up upon the *Foot* of the *People*, which has no *Foundation* ; It is not for one *Life* or *Age* we may endure the *Effects* of it ! What did the *Deposition* of *Rich. the II.* cost *England* ? A *Train* of *Misery*, *Blood*, and *Destruction* for above an *Hundred Years*, till the *Right Line* was at last *Restor'd* ! And was the *Difference* betwixt *Rich. the II.* and *Hen. the IV.* worth all this ? So that *Tyranny* may Last for a *Life* ; But *Rebellion*, if it succeeds, for *Ages*.

No *Kingdom* was ever yet *Destroy'd* by the *Tyranny* of a *King*. But by *Rebellion* Many have.

Yet

Yet our *Author* thinks *Tyranny* much more *Destructive* to the *People*, than *Popular Revolution*. And proves it thus, p. 18. Let any one Consider the *Cruelties* that have been *Inflicted* upon the poor *Protestants* in *France*; not to mention the many *Illegal Arbitrary Proceedings* that we have seen in our own *Nation*, and compare them with the manner with which our *Popular Revolution* was brought about, and try in his *Conscience*, if he can be of his (the *Author* of the *Association's*) *Opinion*. And let any one Reflect upon the *Condition* we must have been in before this time, had not *God* come in to our *Rescue*. and I am sure it will be *Impossible* for him to *Subscribe* to such downright *Falsities*, and such *Slavish Principles*.

This *Author* is still very *Sure*! I first, except against the last part of the *Comparison*, What he apprehends might have come to pass! *Jealousies* and *Fears* will bear no *Argument*. A *Man* may be as *Fearful* as he *Pleases*. There are some who *Fly*, when none *Pursueth*. And some *Pretend Dangers*, to *Frighten* other *Folks*; to *Raise Mobbs*, and carry on *Designs*.

But I desire to know what he means by *The many Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings that we have seen in our own Nation*? I suppose he does not mean the *Last Reign*. Therefore I will not *Mention* it. It must then be the *Two former Reigns*. For we have seen none other.

By this *Representation*, a *Stranger* wou'd Expect many *Men Massac'd*, *Dragoon'd*, *Banish'd*, &c. in the *Reigns* of *K. Char. II.* and *K. Jam. II.* When this is brought in as a *Ballance* to the *Destruction* that Attends *Popular Revolutions*. But when he is told, That no one *Man, Woman, or Child* can be *Produc'd* in both these *Reigns*, that did Suffer otherwise than by the known *Laws* of the *Land*. Not one *Gaffny'd* or *Glen-Coe'd*. But many *Pardon'd*, and *Re-pardon'd*, who had been in open *Rebellion*, and Detected in several *Assassination-Plots*, to

have Murther'd the King, and over-turn both Church and State ; And this so fully Prov'd, as to be Confessed even by *Themselves* : I say when this is shew'd to be the Case, as it Truly is ; What wou'd a *Stranger* think, What shou'd *We* think (we are *Strangers* to our selves !) of such *Writers* as these, who Blacken *Princes*, whose *Mercy* was their *Fault* and their *Ruin*, as if they had been the Greatest *Tyrants* in the World ; when yet they have no one *Instance* to shew of what they wou'd so *Impudently* Impose upon the World !

This Reasonably *Abates* the *Credit* we are to Give them, when they speak of *Foreign Affairs*, and bring no *Proof*. Yet I will not take that Advantage, so as to Wave that Part of his *Comparison*, which Relates to the Treatment of the *Hugonots* in *France*. Nor will I seek to *Alleviate* or *Lessen* it, by the known *Principles* of these Men as to *Government*, and the *Deposing* of *Kings* ; Their former Frequent *Rebellions* ; And those *Discoveries*, which the *Advocates* for the *French King* Alledge he had made of their *Treating* with *Foreign Powers*, in Order to an *Insurrection* in his own *Kingdom*. I Wave all this, nor will I undertake the *Proof* of it.

Our *Comparison* lies only as to the *Number* of Men that were *Destroy'd* in this *French Persecution*. I have heard much of the *Dragooning* there. And it vvas very *Barbarous*. I *Detest* it. But I have not heard much of any put to *Death* upon that Account of *Religion*, except of a Fevv of their *Ministers*, vvho being *Banish'd* on Pain of *Death*, did *Return*. But let the *Whole Detail* be made out, in the most *Ample* Manner, vve vvill by no Means *Stint* them ; And vvhen they have Agreed upon the *Number*, vvith any sort of *Probability*, I vvill give them Leave to *Multiply* it *Ten-fold* ; And then vvill Enter upon the *Comparison* of those vvho *Perished*. -----

Not in our late *Revolution*, as this *Author* wvould Fix it; No, I wvill not meddle wvith that. I allow that to be an *Exception*. Because it wvas *Worth All* that it *Cost Us!* What wvas some *Hundreds of Thousands* that wvere *Starv'd to Death*, and *Fell by the Sword in Ireland*, in about *two Tears* time; besides *Families and Persons* that were *Ruin'd*, without *Number!* What were all those who *Perish'd*, in *Scotland*; And in our *Ten-Years-War* Abroad, by *Sea and Land!* What was *All this*; Besides about *Eighty Millions* in *Taxes* (more than all our *Kings* since *William the Conqueror* had, put together) What was all this, if it had been *Ten times* more, in *Comparifon* of the *Preservation* of our *Laws* and *Liberties!* But this I will fay, That this is the first *Popular Revolution* that ever was worth the while!

Therefore I will carry our *Comparifon* Higher, to the *Former* of *Forty-One*. And to that of *York* and *Lancaster*. And will Double the Advantage I before offer'd this *Author*, as to the *Number* of those who *Perish'd* and were *Ruin'd*, in either of these *Revolutions*; compar'd with those who *Perish'd* in the late *French Persecution* of the *Hugonots*. And I will give this latest of the *Severnois*. into the Bargain. Nay I will go further, and let him Add to the Account, the late *Persecutions* of the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and in *Savoy*. So vast a *Dis-proportion* there is betwixt *Tyranny* and *Revolution!* And so little Reason has this *Author*: to call these things downright *Falsities*, which are as *Flagrant Truth*, as the *Sun* at *Noon-Day!* But none so *Blind* as they who will not *See*.

As little Ground had he, to call the *Jure-Divino* VIII.
Doctrines, *Slavish Principles*. For let these *Doctrines* Slavish
be *True* or *False*; It cannot surely be called so *Slavish*, Principles.
to submit my self to one *Royally Born*, sprung from the

Loins of many *Kings* ! whom I believe to be *Invested* with a *Divine Commission* ; and likewise Better for the *Salus Populi* , and Preservation of the Publick Peace and *Security* ; And whose *Heart*, GOD says, He keeps in His own *Hand* ; And that He will Eternally Reward those who *Faithfully Serve, Honour, and Humbly Obey such in Him, and for Him, according to his Blessed Word and Ordinance, considering whose Authority such an One hath, that is God's*. Now whether is it more *Slavish* to Obey such an One, for *Conscience* towards God ; or to put my self *Creepingly* under the *Feet* of the *Beasts* of the *People*, of one upon the same *Level* with my self, it may be, *Worse Born* ; and who by *Hypocrisie* and *Trick*, has squeez'd himself into *Power*, perhaps, by *Undermining Me*, who had the same *Plot* upon *Him* ! And stands upon no other *Foundation*, than a *Pack'd Party* who call Themselves the *People* ; To which I have as good *Right*, if I can get a *Party* to follow me ; And so has every other, if he were my *Foot-man*, or a *Massanello*, who can do the same ; Whether is more *Honourable*, or more *Slavish*, to submit *Tamely* under such an One, or, which is worse, a *Mobb* of them ; without any *Rules* of *Law*, or *Constitution*, but what they Please to Call so ; And in *Opposition* to all the *Laws* of *God* and *Man* ; To the *Trampling* down of all *Nobility*, and *Distinctions* of *Men* ; I leave it to any *Man* of *Honour* or *Sense*, Whether there is not more of *Slavery* and *Poorness* of *Spirit* in *Submitting* to such, than to a *King*, whom it is an *Honour* to *Serve* ; And has been so *Reputed*, in the whole *Earth*, from the first *Division* of *Nations*, to this *Day* ; except among a *Sett* of *Filthy Dreamers*, who have of late *Years*, *Rose* up in our *Land* ; *Who speak Evil of the things they Understand not* ; And are not *Afraid* to *despise Dominion*, and *speak Evil of Dignities* ; Whereas *Angels* dare not bring *Railing Accusations* against them, tho' *Wicked*; tho' the *Devil* himself ! The *Blessed Angels*

gels serve *Willingly*, in the several *Ranks* of that *Hierarchy* wherein God has Plac'd them; And this is their *perfect Freedom*. The Devil wou'd not keep his first *Principality*, and is a *Slave* in his *Rebellion*! To Serve a *Nobler* than my self, is *Honourable*; but to Serve my *Inferior*, or *Equal*, is *Slavish*. Happy is that *Land* whose *King* is the *Son* of *Nobles*. And *Wretched* are those *People*, over whom *Servants* bear *Rule*.

Having thus Dispatch'd these *Popular Objections* of our *Author*; Let Us now Pursue the *Argument*, we have been upon; and conclude it with the Explaining of some *Words*, which are a *Stumbling-Block* to Many, because not well Understood; These are the *Phrases* of a *Limited* and *Mix'd Monarchy*, which are in Every Bodies Mouth, and the Burden of all our *Republican*, and *Whigg-Pamphlets*.

IX.
of a I
mitted
Mix'd
Monarc

They say, That *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* are a *Mixture* of *Monarchy*, *Aristocrasie*, and *Democrasie*, altogether. For that the *Supreme Power* is *Divided* between them. Thence they Raise their *Ballancing of Power*, between these *three Supremes*. Of which sufficient has been said before, That it is *Nonsense* and *Contradiction*. That *Power* is *One*, and therefore cannot be *Divided*, &c.

But must there be no *Limitation* then, or *Mixture* of *Monarchy*?

Mixture can be None. That cannot be in the *Nature* of the *Thing*. All the *Mixture* is this, That the *Lords*, who are the *Aristocratical* Part, and the *Commons*, who are the *Democratical*, do both Compose the *King's Great Council* of the *Parliament*. Which is an *Excellent* and *Wise Disposition*. As it is said, *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*. But then the *Supreme Power* is only in the *King*, not in these *three Kings*. As it is likewise said, *For the Wickedness of a Land, many are the Princes thereof*. One *King*, and Many *Connfellors*. That is the *Safest*. And it is Our *Constitution*. Dif-

Dismissing then this *Mixture of Government*, let Us come to the *Limitations*.

May not a *Monarch* be *Limited*? Yes, as said before, He may *Limit* Himself, by *Limitations of Concession*. And, in this Sense, ours is the most *Limited*, and Consequently the Most *Happy* Government in the World; If we know our own *Happiness*, and will be *Content* with it.

But as to *Limitations of Coercion*, the *King* cannot *Limit* Himself, nor be *Limited* by any other. For that Moment the *Government* is *Dissolv'd*. And nothing but *Confusion* can follow. And our *Laws* have sufficiently secur'd against any *Limitation of Coercion*, as before has been shew'd.

In the next Place I will say, That no *Common-wealths*, or vvhhat they call *Popular Governments* (tho' no such ever truly was, or can be in the World) have Granted such *Limitations of Concession*, as *Monarchs*, at least, *Ours* have done. And no *Subjects* in the World may be so *Easie* and *Happy* as We; if that *Rebellious Principle of Coercing* our *Kings*, and making our selves *Co-ordinate* vwith Him, were once Rooted out from among Us. If vve vvou'd be Guided either by *Reason*, or *Scripture*; the *Law* of the *Land*, or, the *Experience* of all *Ages*, chiefly of our own. Till when, *Peace* and *Settlement* will be as Impossible to us, as to *Reconcile Contradictions*.

And without Reflecting upon One or Another *Party*, considering them only as *Men*, where ther is a *Contest* for *Power*, one or the other must Have it. And ther can never be any *Settlement* in such a *State* of things. Or any *Government* Fix'd without a certain *Foundation*, *Centre*, and Ultimate *Arbitrator*. Which can never be the *People*. They are the *Party* to be Govern'd; And therefore cannot be the *Governors*.

And now we have seen all that is said in this *Occasional Letter* against the *Principles* laid down in the *New Association*. I cou'd take Advantage of several *Expressions*. But all I Aim at is to settle *Principles*. And I shall be Glad if any will shew me, wherein I have *Reason'd* Amis; Or Mistaken the Sense of the *Holy Scriptures*; or of our own *Laws* and *Constitution*; Or in Matter of *Fact*, as to the Dreadful *Consequences* of these *Popular Principles*, which take *Government* from off the *Foundation* of *Divine Right* and *Establishment*; And place it upon the *Face* of the *Waters*, upon the *Giddy Multitude*, perpetually *Ebbing*, and *Flowing*, and Raised up into *Storms* and *Tempests*, by every *Breath* of *Seditious* Spirits to their own *Destruction*; and overthrow of all *Order*, *Laws*, and *Constitution*.

And the Endeavouring to settle sure and Lasting *Foundations* of *Government*, in Opposition to these *Popular* no *Principles*, of *Sedition* and *Eternal Confusion*, is all the Reason I know that has stir'd up the *Wrath* of these *Orators* for the *Populace*. And it is a sufficient Reason, in one Sense, That while they are Resolv'd not to *Repent*, they wou'd not be *Inform'd*, nor have others to be set *Right*. And if the *Principles* of *Government* before-mention'd, of a *Divine Original* and *Right*, cannot be *Disprov'd*; nor the other supported, of *Founding* it upon the *People*, then the *Temple* of the *Republican-Dagon* Tumbles down all at once; And *Restless* Spirits are *Dis-Arm'd* of their *Main* and *Perpetual Pretence* for stirring Men up to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. This is it which makes them so *Angry*, so Exceedingly *Concern'd* at all *Discourses* of this Nature; And to Treat the *Authors* with so much the more *Rage* and *Malice*, the less they find themselves *Able* to *Answer* them.

X.
Character
given of
the New
Assoc.

It was this, which made the *Occasional Letter* p. 7. call the *New Assoc. The most Malicious and Virulent Book of the Age*. And tell the *Author*, That he Deserves the Pillory. And again, p. 25, 26. *This Writer has the best way of turning every thing, without any Prejudice to a Party, just to his own Humour, of any Man I ever met with.*

But Sir, there is an *Easie Receipt* for this, and is no such *Master-piece* in that *Author*. There goes no more to it than this, To fix *True Principles*, from which it is easie for any Man to Argue; And to have no other *Humour* or *Design*, than to find out the *Truth*; And then, *every thing will Turn just to his own Humour*; And that *without any Prejudice to a Party*, while he only Battles their *Principles*; And thereby Endeavours to Reclaim them from their *Evil Practices*: Which likewise he *May* and *Ought* to Lay before them, *Fully* and *Freely*, to Deter them the more from *Relapsing* into them. And all this, without any *Prejudice* to them. No. It is the greatest *Kindness* can be shew'd to them. Much *Greater* than to *Sooth* and *Palliate*, and *Excuse* them! And if any will *Harden* themselves against all *Conviction*, and Return nothing but *Railing* and *Billingsgate* to whatever *Reasons* or *Arguments*; and seek to *Pervert* others, by *Corrupting* the *Right Ways* of *Truth*; such are to be *Rebuk'd Sharply*, to save others from their *Infection*. Especially when the *Support* or *Ruin* of a *Nation* depends upon it.

Concerning the Education of Children. Sermon 2.

Arch-Bishop Tillotson said very well, *That we must not use Mildness in the Case of a Willful and Heinous Sin, especially if it be Exemplary, and of Publick Influence. To Rebuke Gently upon such an Occasion, is rather to Countenance the Fault, and seems to Argue that we are not sensible enough of the Enormity of it, and that we have not a due Dislike, and Detestation for it. Such cold Reproofs as those which Old Eli gave his Sons, 1 Sam 2. 23, 24. Why do you such things; For I hear of your Evil*

wil Dealing by all this People. *That is, their Carriage was such as gave Publick Scandal*: Nay, my Sons, it is not a good Report that I hear, you make the Lord's People to Transgress. *Such a Cold Reproof as this, where the Crime was so Great and Notorious, was a kind of Allowance of it, and a Partaking with them in their Sin; And so God Interprets it.*

And so no doubt He will, if we give *Allowance* to the *Witch-craft* of *Rebellion*, and *Partake* with it, by such *Mild* and *Gentle Reproofs*, as seem rather to *Countenance* or *Excuse* it: And not to give Men a *Duc Horror* and *Detestation* of so *Destructive*, a *Wickedness*, for which they will *Receive* to themselves *Damnation*; And which Hurries them to their own *Destruction*, and of the whole *Community* with them! This *Sin* ought to be *Painted* out in its *Proper Colours*; the *Wicked Nature*, and *Dismal Consequences* of it should be *Expos'd* to the *Full*, that it be not thought a *Small* and *Indifferent* thing.

To this there is a *Strange Answer* given, *That if this Faction* are so *Implacable* in their *Principles*, if they enter into *Associations* that are *Treasonable* by *Law*, And if they have done such and such things, which are there set down, and *Quoted* out of the *New Assoc.* ---- Well, what then? What *Inference* does he draw from it? Do's he *Deny* any of these things? Or say, That they are *Falsly* *Charg'd*? No. He says not a *Word* against the *Truth* of the *Charge*. For the *Associations* are set down *verbatim* in the *New Assoc.* And the whole *Charge* *Prov'd* in every *Particular*, past the *Possibility* of a *Denial*; And this *Author* do's not *Deny* one *Word* of it. But makes this *Inference*, as the plain *Design* of the *New Assoc.* viz, *That the Government, for its own Security, and for Recompenſing them that they have Deserved, should order Gallows to be Erected, and without more aad should have them all Hang'd* And calls to *Mind* again *The*

Occasi-
onal Let-
ter. P. 8.

Shortest Way. They are still Fond of that *Precious Piece! Guilty Conscience!*

But the *New Assoc.* is so far from Intending any thing of this *Hanging* Business, That he Expressly Clears himself from it; And shews his Meaning to be no more than not to Trust them with the *Power* of Acting their Former *Mischiefs* over again. And no *Answer* is given to that in this *Occasional Letter*. But the *Objection* Repeated over again, That nothing but *Hanging* was the Design! Nay, it is said, *That it is a very plain and necessary Inference.*

Now, by this way of Argument, if that *Author* had Quoted, *Rom. xiii. 2.* That *they who resist, shall Receive to themselves Damnation*, then it had been as Plain and Necessary an *Inference*, That he design'd their *Damnation* as well as *Hanging*, because they *Deserv'd Both.*

At this Rate, no Man must Preach *Sin* to be *Damnable!* Nor tell the *People* of their *Sins*, lest he be thought to have a *Design* to *Damn* them All!

We have been told of another *Association*, since those mention'd in the *New Assoc.* (And it is Given Us likewise *Verbatim*) by some of the same *Faction*; and *Affix'd* up Publickly upon the *Mercat-Cross* of a *Royal Borough*, at *Noon-Day*, by about *Seven Hundred Men* in *Arms*, in the Name of all the *True Presbyterians* in *Scotland*; And Order'd to be *Dispersed* all over the *Kingdom*; wherein they Renounce *Queen Ann*, in Express Words, because She had Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; which having been once a *Covenanted Kingdom*, they will have it so Again, to the Peril of their *Lives*, and All that they have.

Now, is not this *Treason*? Must it not therefore be Mention'd? Tho' to no other Purpose, than to keep the *Sword* out of the *Hands* of *People* so *Principl'd*; and not to Trust them with the *Power*, who have all along
Given

Given Abundant Demonstration, that they want not the *Will* to *Destroy* Us, our *Church* and *Government*! I say, must not this be Mention'd, without a *Design* to have them all *Hang'd*! Is ther not such a thing as *Repentance* and *Amendment*, upon the full Discovery of *False* and *Pernicious Principles*? Or, if they be Past that, to secure what others we can from falling into their *Snares*? Or Lastly, That the *Church* and the *Monarchy* shou'd stand upon their *Guard*, and *Watch* such *Restless Spirits*, and *Inveterate Enemies* to Both? Must We have a *Design* to *Destroy* Them, except we give Them *Leave* to *Destroy* Us?

Here is an *Invincible Asylum* to all *Rebellion*, and to *Blacken* any who speak against it; That they are *Cruel* and *Merciless* Men, who have a *Design* against the *Lives* of those they call *Rebels*! Tho' the *Proofs* be never so *Flagrant*, and the *Principle* Justifi'd by Them: All, by every *One* of Them, without *Exception*; And *Propagated* in *Print*, all over the *Nation*, to *Poison* it, and to *Ruin* bring. And the *Principle* of *Loyalty*, and *Patient Submitting* for *Conscience* sake, on Account of any *Divine Character* or *Authority* in *Kings*, is, by these Men made the *Fest* and *Hatred* of the *People*. And they who are for *Peace* and settl'd *Government*, are called *Persecutors*, and *Tyrannical*, because they *Fear God* and the *King*, and *Meddle not with those who are given to Change*! Now whether their *Arguments* be *Good* or not, yet it is certain their *Design* is *Peace* and *Quietness*, and rather to *Suffer* Injuries, than to *Offer* them: And it is what they are *Perswaded* is the *Best* for *Salus Populi*, and *Attended* with much less *Ruin* and *Destruction* to the *Community*, than what they suffer by *Popular Revolutions*. Yet this is call'd a *Bloody* and *Tyrannical Principle*, whereas that of *Rebellion* and *Perpetual Innovations*, is call'd *Generous*, and likewise *Merciful*, tho' it *Destroy* one *Half* of the *People*, to *Preserve*.

serve the *Rest*; and *Sacrifice* to every Prevailing *Faction*, the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties* of the whole *Nation*, with all its *Laws* and *Constitution* !

Now as a *Sample* of these two *Sorts* of Men, Let Us Look into these two *Books* here before us. The *New Assoc.* having Prov'd the *Whiggs* and *Dissenters* to have been formerly *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebelling*, and *Enemies* to *Church* and *State*, carries the *Consequence* no farther than not to have them *Intrusted* with the *Power* to *Act* all this over again: But the *Occasional Letter* says, P. 28. *And indeed were they as bad as he has describ'd them, I could not but think that Hanging or Banishment is what they well Deserv'd, and what the Common Safety Required.*

Now as to his *Suppose*, whether they were so *Bad*, *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebellious*, the *Proof* is *Hard Matter of Fact*, which will not be *Deny'd*! And tho' this *Author* and other of their *Advocates*, do *Deny* the *Charge* in the *whole*; yet they *Answer* not the *Particulars*, nor can *Deny* any *One* of them.

But this shews how they would *Deal* with those whom they *Esteem* their *Enemies*, as the *High Church*, &c. if it were in their *Power*; to make *Root* and *Branch work* with *Episcopacy*, according to the *Maxim* in their *Private Academies*, which *Mr. Wesley* has shewn in his *Letter* concerning them, and the *Defence* of it, lately *Printed* for *R. Clavel*, and *James Knaplock* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1704. Which are well worth the *Reader's Perusal*, and the *Consideration* of our *Superiours*.

XI.
Of the
Calves-
Head
Feasts.

This *Occasional Letter*, p. 29. falls upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for mentioning the *Calves-Head-Feasts*, and joins with him in the same *Accusation*, The *Author* of the *Dedication* of the *Second Volume* of the *Lord Clarendon's History*, and *Replies* smartly upon him, thus,
The

The Author of that Dedication might indeed know of Publick Musick and Rejoicing on that Day, at Oxford, where his Dedication was Printed. But if any where else such Rejoicings or Feastings have been Practis'd on that Solemn Day, these Gentlemen might know, that the Party at whose Door such Impiety is laid, Abhor, and Dis-own it as much as themselves.

Here is Scandal thrown, no Matter whom it hits. As to the Publick Rejoicings at Oxford, I leave the Author to Explain, and the Persons Concern'd to Answer. I will only say for the Present, that this comes from a Party, to whom Slander is no new thing, especially when thrown in Innuendo's, which they know sufficient to those with whom they have to do.

But I observe he do's not put *Feasting* into his *Oxford-Accusation*, and as for *Musick*, that is not always a Sign of *Rejoicing*. There are *Lamentations*, and *Penitential Psalms*, and *Psalms* are usually Sung at *Executions*. But he calls it *Publick Musick*. Why? Was it at the *Theatre*? But tho' *Feasting* be not in the *Premises*, he has slid it into the *Conclusion*, to make the *Charge Full and Round*! For he says, *If any where else such Rejoicings or Feastings have been Practis'd, &c.* Which Implies, they were Practis'd there; unless he thinks to come off, when Question'd, by the Particle, *Or*, which may refer to *One* or *Both*. If so, it was more *Artful* than *Honest*. And if the *Evening* of a *Fast-Day* be Clos'd up with Answerable *Musick*, is that Equal to the making it a *Feast-Day*?

But how do's he come to make an *If* of it? *If any where else* ----- As if he had never heard one tittle of these *Calves-Head-Feasts*, which are so Notorious in *London*, their *History* and *Anthems* Printed, and have been continued from that *Fatal Day* to this! One would Fancy this not wrote by an *Englishman*!

But it is a Happiness every Man is not Born to, to Believe, See, and Hear, just as he Pleases !

But this *Author* further says, *That the Party at whose door such an Impiety is laid, Abhor and Dis-own it.*

First, as to the *Party* he supposes concern'd, he must Know them very well, else he could not so frankly Undertake for them. And they are the same whose Principles brought to pass the Dismal Tragedy of that Day. And they seem more Consequential to themselves, who Avow both the Principle and the Fact pursuant to it, than they who still Defend the Principle, but would Dis-own the Effects of it.

For, Sir, you must know, That it is not the Meat, but the Principles of those Feasts, which Render them so Detestable; that is, the Deposing Doctrine, and setting up the Power of the People above the King. For if those Principles be true, that King Died by the Sentence of his Proper Judges and Superiors. And Justly too, for Denying of their Supream Authority, and Refusing to be Try'd by it.

Now, Sir, If you Please to Examine over that Party for whom you have Vouch'd, and see how many of them will Renounce their Calves-Head Principles. ----- And all the Rest are of the Club, whether they come to their Feasts or not. By this Test we shall find whether this Calves-Head-Club, consists only of a Few Profligate Men, as this *Author* Represents it, or of those in general, who are Represented under the Name of WHIGGS, whose Principles he undertakes to Vindicate, and says, *They are Entirely for our Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd, and for all that Allegiance to Kings and Queens, which the Law of God and Man requires.* How far the Deposing-Doctrine is Consistent with these, has been spoke to before, and particularly as to the Laws of the Land, Express in full and very particular Acts of Parliament, yet Un-repeal'd,

as to any *Coercive Power* over the *King*, in the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively*. So that if we will be *Determin'd* by the *Laws*, the *Laws* have *Determin'd* Us: And if we fly Higher, to the *Original* of *Nations* upon the *Earth*, then we hope from the next *Occasional Letter* (since we are to have more, for this is but *Num. 1.*) a *Clearer* and more *Certain* Account of it than what is before given. Till which be done, it is not a *Few Profligate*, but the whole *Body* of the *Whiggs*, that lie under the *Imputation*. And they are desir'd to shew, How they *have always Detest-ed the Barbarous Murther of K. Char. I.* (as this Author says) while they *have always Maintain'd* the very same *Principles*, which (more *Guiltily* than the *Ax*) cut off his *Head!* And which still do *Threaten* all *Kings* and *Queens* that ever shall wear the *Crown* in *England!* And which actually Pass the same *Sentence* upon All who are not *Better* than that *Blessed Martyr!* Who are not more *Virtuous*, more *Pious* than He! More *Willing*; more *Ready* to Give up their *Prerogative*, and Grant *Concessions*, to whatever *Prevailing Party* Pretend to *Act* in the *Name* of the *People!* Or, who *Obstinately*, like him, shall *Deny* the *Authority* of these their *Constituents*, to call them to *Account*, to *Adjudge* the *Crown* from off their *Heads*, or their *Heads* from their *Shoulders!* For that is the *Highest Treason* and *Rebellion* any *King* can commit against his *Sovereign Lord*, the *People!* It is a downright *Dis-owning* of their *Authority*, and *Usurping* it to *Himself!* It is a making *Them* his *Subjects*, instead of his being *Subject* unto *Them!*

Now when the *Whiggs* call it a *Barbarous Murther* in the *People*, to put such a *King* to *Death*: And yet *Maintain* the same *Principle* upon which they did it; it is *Impossible Both* shou'd be *True*, because they are *Contradictions*; And in which of them they Play the *Hypocrite* is easily *Discern'd*; while they *Act* upon the

one, the *Principle of Power* in the *People*, openly *Affert* and *Defend* it; and *Persecute* those who *Deny* it, as *Dis-affected*, *Seditious*, and which is worse, as *High-Church-Men*! But their *Acknowledgments* to the *Martyr*, is only in *Words*, and that very *Short*, a *Passing Expression* or so, for *Popularity* sake, since it is the *Fashion*; but without any *Reason* given for it, or so much as saying, That he did not deserve to *Die*, who *Denied*, and *Refus'd* to *Submit* himself to the *Supream Power* of the *People*. Such *Crocodile-Tears* as they bestow upon the *Hearse* of the *Martyr*, while they *Justifie* the *Fact* in all its *Consequences*, is a more *Outragious* and *Provoking Mockery*, than the *Bare-fac'd Impudency* of the *Calves-Head-Feasts*!

But if there are any indeed of so very weak a *Judgment*, as to think that they can pay a just *Veneration* to the *Memory* of the *Martyr*, and yet *Retain* the *Principle of Power* in the *People*; This is to let them see, that they must *Part* with *One*, for they cannot *Serve Two* such *Masters*.

I am told, That last 30th of *January*, at one of the principal of their *Calves-Head-Feasts* here in *London*, they used a sort of a *Symbolical Ceremony*, of *Sticking* their *Knives*, all at once, into the *Biggest* of the *Calves-Heads*, thereby *Engaging* themselves in a *Band of Unity*, for the *Restoration* of *Puffs*, that is, their *Commonwealth*; And the *Extirpation* of *Monarchy*, especially in the *Line* of the *Martyr*, whom they thus *Represented*. And in one of their *Poems* since *Publish'd*, this Year 1704: Intituled, *Faction Display'd. The Second Part*. Which deserves its *Room* among their *Anthems*, they speak it out as *Plainly*, p. 21. Where *Justifying* the *Deposition* of the *Late K. Jam. II.* They say,

*I own the Right an Injur'd Nation did,
When She from Rome Her Threatn'd Altars freed,
Applaud the Just and more Approv'd Design,
Of quite Exploding that Detested Line.*

Is not this fair *Warning* (in *Print*, and *Cry'd* about the *Streets*) to his *Daughter*, now *Sitting* upon his *Throne*!

When any Person is Dear to us, we use to *Embalme* his *Memory*, and cannot seek Occasions to *Bespatter* and *Reville* him; As this Author does, though he says he does it not, p. 9, 10. Where coming to Answer the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, and the *Cruel Usage* the *Clergy* met with there in the last *Reign*; he *Confesses* the *Charge*, for it was not to be *Deny'd*, And the only Method he could find to *Lessen* the *Weight* of it, was, to lay *Load* much more *Heavily* upon *King Charles the First*, for the same, and says, That what he advances, p. 10. *Sets off King William's Management* of the *Affair* to better *Advantage* than that of his *Royal Grandfather's*. Of which the Reader shall Judge when I have offer'd these few *Considerations*, not to *Aggravate* against the *Grandson*, but to do *Justice* to the *Memory* of the *Royal Grandfather*.

I Grant this to be the *Greatest* and most *Fatal Blot* in that *Good King's* *Reign*. But he severely *Repented* of it. And *Aggravates* it against himself. Thus says he to God in his *Confession*, *Was it thro' Ignorance* that I *permitted* a *wrong way* of thy *Worship* to be set up in *Scotland*? And *Injur'd* the *Bishops* in *England*? O no; but with *Shame* and *Grief* I *confess*, that I therein follow'd the

XII.
This Au-
thor's R-
viling
the Me-
mory of
King
Charles
the Mar-
tyr.

Perswasions of Worldly Wisdom, forsaking the *Dictates of a Right Inform'd Conscience*; wherefore, O Lord, I have no Excuse to make, no Hope left, but in the Multitude of thy Mercies.---- I hope this Author will be able to produce to us as truly *Christian* and *Heroical*. a *Confession of the Grandson's*, and then it would be very *Wicked*, and a *Breach of Charity* to remember his *Sin* any more, to his *Dis-advantage*.

But the *Grand-father* Express'd his *Repentance* in more than *Words*, for he Seal'd it with his *Blood*; and chose rather to lose his *Head*, than consent to such another *Act of Abolition of Episcopacy in England*. Whether his *Grandson* might not have done the same, if it had come to the *Trial*, I will not say, but leave it to this *Author*, to give us what *Indexes* of it he has observ'd; because he speaks of himself, as one let into his most secret *Councils*; for he says, p. 10. *I have great Reason to be Confident he (K. Will.) had such a Design (of Restoring Episcopacy in Scotland) if ever he could have had it in his Power to have Effected it.* Now whatever *Reason* this *Author* had to be *Confident* of *K. W's Design*, which I will not Ask, for I care not to be *Intrusted with Secrets*; yet he wou'd Oblige the *World* to let us know why it was not in his *Power* to have *Effected* it! When the first *Rabble-Presbyterian-Convention* was continued all his *Reign*, against all the *Solicitations* could be made to give the *Nation* a *Free Election*. And why were the *Bishops* turn'd out, and the *Episcopal Clergy* Rabbl'd and *Dis-possess'd*, before the *Oaths* were put to them, or known which of them would *Swear* to the *Government*, or not?

He says (*Ibid.*) That *K. W. made no Grants of the Church Lands in Scotland*. This was his *Ignorance* or his *Innocence*! For when Her *Present Majesty* had *Piously* design'd to apply the *Bishops Revenues in Scotland* towards the Support of the *Surviving Bishops*, and *Depriv'd Episcopal Clergy* there, it has been found upon *Enquiry*,
that

that almost the whole of them have been *Granted* a-way, and that even by *Act of Parliament*, to *Laymen* there, so that there is but a *Pittance* left for Her *Majesty* to *Dispose* of. While Mr. *Carstares*, who was in the *Rye-House Conspiracy*, Enjoys the whole *Revenue* of the *Bishoprick* of *Dunblane*, by *Grant* from *K. William*.

But from the whole of this *Story*, there is a Useful ^{XIII.} *Lesson*, to shew what it is will *Please* some sort of *People*. For when *K. Char. I.* had *Granted* all that they did *Desire*, or could *Invent* for their *Security*, even to the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy*, and, as this *Author* *Quotes* my *Lord Clarendon's History*, *Whatsoever else they were Pleased to present to him, concerning Church or State,--- so that he seem'd to have made that Progress into Scotland, only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom*; Infomuch that they *Declar'd* they had no more to *Ask*, and that he left them, as the *Phrase* then went, a *Contented King* from a *Contented People*; and on that *Occasion* *Renewed* their *Vows* and *Assurances* of *Perpetual Loyalty*, &c. Yet all the use they made of these *Condescensions* of His *Majesty*, and the *Power* which he had put into their *Hands*, was to *Raise* an *Army* against him, and follow him into *England*, in *Conjunction* with their *Good Brethren* there, who were in *Rebellion* against him; and *Declaring* that they wou'd not be *Satisfied* till the same thing was done in *England*, That *Episcopacy* shou'd be *Abolish'd*, and the whole *Power* put into the *Hands* of the *Faction* there, as has been done in *Scotland*. Which you may see in the said *Lord Clarendon's History*, *Vol. 2. p. 283. 292. 295, &c.*

This shews how far any *Party*, that contends for *Power*, will be contented with a certain *Share* of it!

Yet the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, even then when they were at the Higheft in the *Reign* of *K. Char. I.* And afterwards, when having *Murther'd* him, they had the *Whole Government* in their own Hands, did not in all that time go the Length that they have done now in *Scotland*, to make it *High-Treason* to *Speak* *Act* or *Write* in the Defence of *Episcopacy*, or against *Presbyterian* Government in the *Church*.

So that we see, as Men Grow Older, they grow *Wiser* in *Mischief*, as well as in *Vertue*! We say, *Use* makes *Perfect*. And the longer Men have *Practis'd* *Rebellion*, they come to their *Work* more *Expediently*! These Men have already *Issued* *Declarations*, *Renouncing* *Q. Ann* (as before is mention'd) because She has *Promis'd* to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; into which they are resolv'd to bring their *Covenant*, and *Presbytery*, as they did before; which their *Predecessors* in *Forty-One*, did not so much as *Pretend* to, in the *Beginning* of their *Insurrection*. Their *Party* was not then so well *Fix'd*, nor had that *Power* in *England*, as they think they have *Now*!

XIV. But Leaving this Melancholly Subject to the *Wisdom* of our *Superiours*, I go on to *Examine* the *Ground* and *Foundation* of the *Whig-Loyalty*, which this *Author* *Insists* upon, That they have always *Detested* the *Barbarous* *Murther* of *K. Cha.* Some of the *Presbyterians*, tho' not many, have spoke against it. And on that *Head*, have *Endeavour'd* to *Represent* themselves as *Loyal* Men. Therefore it is fit every *Reader* should know the *Truth* of that *Matter*, which is this;

That some time before the *Murther* of *K. Cha. I.* The *Independent* *Party*, and *Oliver* at the *Head* of them, had *Out-trick'd*, and *Worm'd-out* the *Presbyterians*, by the like *Artifices*; as they before *Ouid* the *Cavaliers*: This

Enraged

The Proceeding of the Parliament of Scotland, 1703. Printed 1704. P. 20.

How far the Whiggs and Dissenters were concerned in the Murther of K. Char. I.

Enraged the *Presbyterians* beyond all Measure, to find themselves *Over-mitted* and *Supplanted*, by those whom they had taught to *Rebell*. And as great *Violence* was shew'd by these *Parties* against one another (calling each other *Sectaries*, *Perfidious*, *Treacherous*, *Betrayers* of the *Rights* of the *People*, &c.) as either of them had before *Spew'd* out against the *Church* or the *Crown*.

In this falling out of *Thieves*, the *Church* gain'd so much, That those Arguments which she had made use of against the *Presbyterians*, of *Causeless Separation*, and *Breaking* the *Unity* of the *Church*, were *Urg'd* by the *Presbyterians*, with *Greater Violence* against the *Independents*; whom they call'd *Sectaries*, *Disturbers* of of the *Peace* of *Jerusalem*, &c. And on the other hand, all the *Pretences* which the *Presbyterians* had set up against the *Bishops*, of *Assuming Spiritual Jurisdiction*, and *Lording* it over their *Brethren*, were *Retorted* with *Advantage*; by the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and their *Classical Constitution*; whose *Little Finger* was shew'd to be *Thicker* than the *Loins* of *Episcopacy*.

And as to the *King*, each endeavour'd to *Blacken* the other, with that Part of the *Rebellion*, which was *separately* their *Share*. The *Presbyterians* laid the *King's Death* upon the *Independents*. The *Independents* said, they *Kill'd* no *King*. That the *Presbyterians* had long before *Un-King'd* him, and *Despoil'd* him of all *Marks* of *Royalty*, had *Reduc'd* him perfectly to a *Private Person*, and carry'd him up and down a *Prisoner*, for the *Shew* of the *People*! That the *Independents* had indeed, at last, *Mump'd* the *Presbyterians* of him, and made their own *Advantage* of this *Royal Sacrifice*, which the *Presbyterians* had *Design'd*; And were now *Enrag'd* to see others, and their *Younger Brother*, *Reap* the *Fruit* of all their *Labours*.

Upon this Head, it is not to be Forgot, which is told in the *New Assoc.* Par. 2. p. 25. But nothing Replied to it in this *Occasional Letter*, That the *General Assembly* of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, did by their *Declaration* Dated *July 31, 1648*, Condemn the Resolution of the *Scots-Parliament*, which still Remain'd so *Loyal*, as to Raise an *Army* for the *Rescue* of the *King* out of the Hands of his *Murtherers*; which they did, and sent it into *England*, under the Command of *Duke Hamilton*, this was commonly call'd, the *Duke's Engagement*. Which *Engagement*, the *General Assembly*, by their *Declaration* aforesaid, did call an *Unlawful Engagement*, and *Thunder'd* out their *Anathema's* against it; as they Afterwards, when the *King* was *Murther'd*, put all those to open *Penance*, with the utmost *Rigour*, who had been concern'd in it; to shew, That they were no way *Aiding* or *Assisting* to his *Death*! But the very next *Day* after this their *Declaration* against the *Duke's Engagement*, viz. On the *first* of *August, 1648*, they Issued a *Declaration and Exhortation* to their *Brethren in England*, wherein they Address themselves to the *King*, in these Words, *Albeit Your Majesty, through the Suggestions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of Us, and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows; and our Consciences bear Record unto Us, that we bear in our Spirits those Humble and Dutiful Respects of Your Majesty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign; And that it would be our Greatest Contentment upon Earth, to see your Majesty Reigning, &c.*

And as if this had not been Enough, they *Eleven Days* after, viz. On the *12th* of the same *August, 1648*, sent their *Humble Supplication* to the *King*, wherein they tell him, *That they were very sensible of His Majesty's Sufferings and Low Condition; That they did not in the least measure, Approve, but from their Hearts Abhor any thing that had been done to His Majesty's Person; And*
that

that they did not oppose his Majesty's Restitution to the Exercise of his Royal Power, &c.

And yet, at the same time, they Protested against His Majesty's being Admitted to come to any of his Houses, in or near London, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, as they had Stipulated for him, when they had Sold him (for it was the Presbyterian Faction only, and not the Nation which did it) or for Concluding any Treaty or Agreement with him till he had first taken the Covenant, Abolish'd Episcopacy in England, as he had done in Scotland; Turn'd out all whom they call'd Malignants, that is, All his Friends who had been True to him; And put the whole Power into the Hands of the Godly, who had Rais'd the Rebellion against him!

I have Transcrib'd this out of *New Assoc.* because no Notice is taken of it in the *Answer*. And perhaps ther is not to be found in *History*, such another Instance of *Perfidy*, and Sanctify'd *Hypocrisie!* Except in what I am next to tell you, of their Dealing with *K. Char.* II. Of which they still continue to Boast!

If *K. Char. I.* Would have turn'd Presbyterian, have Destroy'd the Church, and Reveng'd the Presbyterians upon the Independents, then the Presbyterians, having no other Game to Play, would have let him Live a little Longer, till they could have done their own Business without him, and set up their *Common-Wealth* in the State as well as the Church.

And I doubt not but the Independents would have done the same, if they had been Hew'd down by the Presbyterians; And that they cou'd have made the King a Tool to have set them in the Saddle again. The like wou'd the Ana-Baptists, or any other of the then Sectaries have done, if it had been their Case; And have had as much Cause to Boast of their Loyalty, as the Presbyterians! But the Destruction of the Church was the *Causa sine qua non* with them All. None of them

wou'd have the *King* Preserv'd upon any other *Terms*. They all Agreed in that *Point*, though they *Quarrell'd* with one another, about *Dividing* of the *Spoil*, and setting up their own *Different Models*. But *Episcopacy* was their *Common Enemy*.

Let the *Dissenters* of several sorts, Divide the *Murder* of the *King* among them. They were All *Guilty* of it. The *Presbyterians* began the *Rebellion* against him, and brought him to the *Block*: And just as they were ready to strike the *Stroke*, the *Independents* snatch'd the *Ax* out of their Hands, and did it *Themselves*. Ther is no Difference betwixt *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, the one is in order to the other. In vain therefore do these *Rebels* lay the *Murder* of the *King* upon one Another! One *Dis-Arms* him; Another *Binds* him; And a Third *Cuts* his *Throat*! Which are most *Guilty*? Even all alike! However, it is among the *Dissenters* and *Whiggs*. If it was not they, who else did it? I hope they will not say, it was the *Bishops*, or the *Cavaliers*. That it was the *Church* which Led them into *This* too! Their *Dis-owning* of this *Fact*, renders them *Self-Condemn'd* as to all the *Pretences* of their *Rebellion*, that especially of the *Power* in the *People*, which was the *Foundation* of All the *Rest*. For that *Principle* must either *Justifie* the *Regicide*, or *Condemn* the *Rebellion*. Their *Pretences* to *Loyalty* has *Involv'd* them past all Possibility of *Escape*! A *half-fac'd* *Rebel* can never hold it out. They stand surer, when they own the *Whole Truth*, That they are *Thorough-pac'd*, even to the *Height* of the *Calves-Head-Club*. For then they have some *Principle* to go upon, be it *True* or *False*. And we know, That many *well-meaning* Men have been *Seduc'd*, through *Weakness* of *Judgment*, by *False Principles*, and *Specious Pretences*. But when they come to see their *Error*, they Return *Wholly* and *Heartily*, and not by *Halves*. They have an *Indignation* against

against themselves, for their former *Evil Courses*, and Endeavour to make *Amends*. They do not *Palliate* or *Excuse*, but rather *Aggravate* their *Guilt*. This is the Condition of all True *Penitents*. And there is nothing more *Christian*, or more *Glorious*! But a Snivelling *Laodicean*, who will neither own his *Principle*, nor *Dis-own* it; who would keep his *Principle*, but would not be Answerable for the *Effects* of it; such an one is the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of *God* and *Man*, and fit only to be *Spew'd* out of their *Mouth*, out of all *Conversation* and *Esteem*! Especially, when not *Forc'd* to it by *Hardships* and *Persecution*; for tho' there is no *Excuse* for *Sin*, yet *Great Allowances* must be made for *Humane Infirmities*, by those who are likewise in the *Flesh*, lest they themselves also be *Tempted*. But there is no such *Temptation* now in the way of our *Presbyterians*, to Expose their *Guilty Loyalty* in the Year 1648: And to Re-print, as they have just now done, a *Sheet* they say was *Printed* then, Entitul'd, *The Dissenting Ministers Vindication of Themselves from the Horrid and Detestable Murther of K. Char. of Glorious Memory*. Re-printed, 1704. Where p. 5. They lay the *Cause* of the *Miseries* and *Destruction* of those *Civil-Wars* (which they do not call *Rebellion*) upon the *Woful Miscarriages of the King himself*, which they say, were *Many and very Great*. Was this to make his *Memory GLORIOUS*! Is this a *Vindication* of their *Loyalty*! To throw all the *Blood* of their own *Curst Rebellion* upon the *King*!

No less *Shameful* are the *Boasts* they now make of their *Loyalty* to *K. Char. II.* which is Repeated in this *Occasional Letter*, and Apply'd to the *Whiggs* in General, p. 29. who (as is there said) were *Instrumental in Restoring K. Char. II.* and who have always *Detested the Barbarous Murther of his Royal Father*.

XV.
Of the
Presbyterians
being in-
strumental in the
Restoration of
K. Ch. II.

Now If this were True, it can be said only of the *Presbyterian Whiggs*, when they were *Kick'd* out by the *Independent Whiggs*. So then the *Prevailing Party* were *Whiggs* still.

But now as to the *Presbyterians* Carriage in this Affair, they being under *Hatches*, could find no way to *Retrieve* themselves, but to try if they could make a *Presbyterian*, and a *Property* of the *Young King*; and thereby gain the Advantage of the *Royal Name* on their Side against their *Enemies*, the *Independents*. And the *Presbyterian Party* still *Prevailing* in *Scotland*, thence sent *Commissioners* to *Treat* with the *King* then at *Breda*. And he having *Agreed* (thro' the *Necessity* of his Affairs) to all the *Insolent Articles* sent to him by the *Parliament* and the *General Assembly*, he came into *Scotland*, in the Year 1650. about two Months after they had, in a most *Infamous* manner *Hang'd* the *Glorious Marquess* of *Montrose*, His Majesty's *Commissioner* and *General*, as an Earnest what he himself was to Expect!

But now behold their *Truth* and *Sincerity*! As soon as they had got the *King* into their Hands, they consider'd Him as their *Prisoner*, and a *Victim* to the *Good Old Cause*. The *Commission* of the *General Assembly* publish'd a Paper I have now before me, and was afterwards *Printed* in the Year 1653. Entitul'd *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland, &c.* Where p. 52. 53. they assign'd this as one of the *Causes*, *The Authorizing of Commissioners to close a Treaty with the King, for the Investing him with the Government, upon his Subscribing such Demands as were sent to him.* And coming to Answer the *Objection* that he had done all that was *Demanded* of him by the *Parliament of this Kingdom*, and the *Commission of the General Assembly*; to which we Reply (say they, p. 55.) *That those Demands were Deficient.* And that a *Paper and Verbal Security* was
not

not sufficient. And that to settle with him upon such Paper Securities, and accordingly to Intrust him, was but to Mock God, and to Deceive the World, and to Betray and Destroy our Selves. For they Pretended to know his Heart, and give this as one Reason why it was not Sound, p. 57. That when he did condescend to Subscribe the Demands, and take the Covenant, it was with a Reserve of a Declaration to be Printed therewith, which he did not pass from, until the Commissioners of the Church did refuse to admit thereof. If we had this Declaration, it might in some Measure, alleviate the King's Sin in taking that Cursed Covenant. But he was Young, and willing to be at Home. In the same Page they fall upon the Parliament of Scotland for their over-forward Loyalty, as one of the Causes of God's Wrath, That the News of the Late King's Death being brought to Edinburgh on the Lord's Day at Night, the Parliament did the next Day, before Twelve of the Clock, Proclaim this King with all Publick Solemnity, without setting any time apart to seek the Lord for Counsel and Direction therein.

Yet they say, p. 58. Albeit they durst not altogether deny Duty to be in making Application to the King; yet did the Sence of the Lord's Controversie with him and his House, together with his walking in his former way, lie heavy on their Spirits, and made them rather fear a Curse, than expect a Blessing thereupon.

The meaning of their seeking the Lord.

How! Fear a Curse for Performing what they Confess to be their Duty! Is there not more Cause to Fear a Curse for not doing our Duty? But these Men, as the Quakers, think nothing that is Commanded in Holy Scripture to be their Duty, unless it be Commanded by their own Spirit ANEW. The Quakers Learn'd this Doctrine from them. And indeed, all Enthusiasm, when Pursu'd to the Fountain, is the same. They Pray not for Grace to Resist Temptations against their Duty; but

but, like *Balaam*, in things which *God* has already Comanded, they Ask new *Counsel* and *Advice*, whether it be His *Will* or not? And when they find a strong *Inclination* for what they have a *Mind* to, this is the *Answer* of *God* to them! And they Proceed accordingly. And this they call *Seeking* of the *Lord*! Thus *Oliver* Pretended to *Seek* the *Lord*, and went to *Prayer*, when the *King* was carried to the *Scaffold*, And said the *Lord* had Answer'd, That he must *Die*. Some of the *Regicides* Pleaded the same at their *Tryals*, That they *Sought* the *Lord* for what they did.

Some have *Sought* the *Lord* to know whether *Fornication* was a *Sin*? And being Answer'd by *Impulses*, have been *Perfwaded*, even to *Argue* and *Write* in *Defence* of it, and make *Profelites* to it. And too many have they made. Thus of *Robbery*, *Lying*, and *Cheating*. And thus of *Schism*, of *Sacrilege*, and of *Rebellion*. Who ever heard among all the *Long-winded Prayers* of the *Dissenters*, one *Petition* to save them from the *Sin* of *Rebellion*, or of *Sacrilege*? No. They know no such *Sins*! In their *Assembly's Annotations* upon the whole *Bible*, Printed 1646. they could find no such *Sins* in all the *Holy Writ*! No *Sacrilege* in the *Sin* of *Achan*, of *Belshazzar*, of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. And indeed ther is no such *Sin*, if seizing upon the *Revenues* of the *Church*, nay upon the *Churches* themselves, and things *Consecrated* to *Holy Uses*, be not it! We cannot *Rob GOD* in *Person*. But in the *Persons* of His *Priests*, and in things *Dedicated* to His *Service*. And we *Rebell* against *God*, when we *Rebell* against his *Vicegerents*, thole *Lawful Kings* and *Governours* whom He has set over Us.

But if He will *Dispense* with us, in these *Small Matters*, we will be as *Good to Him* another way! We will *Preach* against *Sabbath-breaking*, even to *Judaizing*! We will *Abhorr Idols*, if He will let us *Commit Sacrilege*!

We

We will make as *Long Prayers* as the *Heathen*, if we may *Devour Widows Houses*, set the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, and take the *Plunder* to our selves! We will *Rebell*, and *Perjure* our selves for the *Glory* of the *Lord*! And we will *seek* to *Him* in every thing, and not give over our *Importunity*, till we find His *Answer* in our *Hearts*!

But to go on with our *Story*, *Oliver* was then in *Scotland*, at the *Head* of an *Army* against them and their *King*, And *Expostulating* with them for their *Back-sliding* from the *Principles* of the *Good Old Cause*, in setting up a *King*; They to obviate this, and satisfy, or *Gull* their *Brethren* the *Independents*, fram'd a *Declaration* for the *King* to *Sign*, wherein he shou'd lay the *Blood* and *Guilt* of the whole *Rebellion*, upon his *Father* and *Himself*; and *Justifie* the *Loyalty* and *Godly Intentions* of the *Saints* who had *Fought* against them; and *Promis'd* to *Root out Episcopacy* in *England*, as well as *Scotland*. To *Discard* all *Malignants*, &c. I have *Annex'd* that *Declaration*, *Appen. N. 1.* because it is not *Preserv'd* in any of our *Histories* that I know of.

The *King* refus'd to *Sign* this, as he had very good *Reason*. Whereupon the *Commission* of the *General Assembly* met at the *West Kirk* at *Edinburgh*, and drew up the *Declaration* hereunto likewise *Annex'd*, commonly call'd *The Act of the West Kirk*, Wherein they *Renounce* the *King* and his *Cause*, upon any other *Terms*. And they oblig'd the *Committee of Estates*, then sitting, to *Ratifie* the same. And order'd the *General* of their *Army* to send this *Declaration* to *Oliver*, as the *Ground* of their *Quarrel*, supposing the *King* should comply with it; which *Letter* is likewise *Annex'd*.

The *King* finding himself thus *Deserted*, and *Betray'd*, and nothing else to save him from *Immediate Ruin*, and being deliver'd up, as his *Father*, into the *Hands* of his *Implacable Enemies*, did at last *Prevail* with himself

to Sign the *Declaration*. Which yet did not fatisfie the *Presbyterians*. For in the aforefaid *Remonstrance* of their *General Affembly*, p. 57. They lay this upon him, That he did for a long time Refufe to Subscribe the *Declaration* which was Tender'd to him, for the Acknowledging of his own, and his Parents Guiltinefs for the time past, and according to his Duty for the time to come; And after that he had, with a great deal of Reluctancy, subscribed the same; he did oftentimes Express, That he did not think his Father Guilty of Blood, and that notwithstanding he had so Declared, he had his own Meaning thereof.

And as the Manner of his Signing this *Declaration* did not Please the *Presbyterians*, for that was Impossible! As little did it fatisfie the *Independents*, when it was Sign'd, or Reconcile them to the *Presbyterians*; for the Contest then was betwixt these two Parties for the Power. And they Bang'd the *Presbyterians* heartily at Dunbar, whose Word that Day was the *Covenant*, The best *Victory* ever the *King* Lost!

But the *Presbyterians*, after this *Defeat*, fought to Revenge themselves upon the *King*, and Pres'd upon him other Acts more Shameful and Outragious; which the *King* Resolutely Refusing, seeing no end of their Encroachments, was Threatned with no less than the laying Hands upon his Person, which forc'd him to fly for the saving of his Life, to his Northern Friends and Forces under General Middleton; where he Treated with the *Presbyterians* at a Distance, and had Hostages given on both Sides for Performance of Articles; one of which was, that he should be forthwith Crown'd, as was stipulated with him at Breda; But nothing less Intended by the *Presbyterians* all this time, till they had sufficiently Peel'd all Royalty from him. But it was now perform'd in a very Uncouth manner, January the
First,

First 1651. Mr. Robert Douglas from the General Assembly, Preaching the Coronation Sermon full of Treason before him, (which is in Print) telling him what sort of a Covenanted King they had made him. And the Old Marquess of Argyle supplied the Place of the Arch-Bishop, in setting the Crown upon his Head, and giving him his Benediction.

The August following, 1651, the King March'd into England. And the Independents kept a Watchful Eye upon the Presbyterians in London, then hoping to get into the Saddle again. And that same Month, one Mr. Love, a Presbyterian Minister was Executed, for Correspondence with the King and the Presbyterians. His Tryal was Printed; which I have Read, with the manner of his Execution, and his Speech upon the Scaffold, which was Exceeding Long, and full of Cant. In it he took special Care, to Free himself and the Presbyterians from the least Tergiversation from the Good Old Cause, or the Scandal of being thought to Repent of their Rebellion and Actings against K. Char. I. Which he Vindicated to the Last. This is their Royal Martyr, of whom they have made such Boasts. And of whom the Dissenters Answer to the High Church Challenge, lately Printed, 1704, says, p. 43. I assure you the Author of this wears a Mourning Ring on his Finger, given at the Funeral of Mr Christopher Love, a Presbyterian Minister, Beheaded An. 1653. (it should be 1651.) For the Horrid Phanatick Plot, contriv'd for the bringing in, as they then call'd him, Charles Stuart, and the Restoring of Monarchy. But how comes this to be a Vindication of the Dissenters and Phanaticks? Were they not such who put Mr. Love to Death? But if it clear not the Dissenters in general, yet it do's the Presbyterians.--As we have seen.--To make use of the Name of a King for their own Ends, Divelting him, at the same time, of the Power of a King; and Justify

ing all their *Treasons* against his *Martyr'd Father!* and laying all the *Blood* and *Misery* which Attended their *Un-natural Rebellion* upon his *Head*, as the *Dissenting Ministers Vindication* before-mention'd likewise does. There is a Reason, why our *Dissenters* keep the *fifth* of *November*, for that was a *Popish Plot*; But not the *30th* of *January* (except in their *Calves-Head Solemnities*) for that Plainly lies among the *Dissenters*, let 'em shove it from one to Another as they Please! And if they had that *Horror* and *Detestation* for that *Execrable Murther*, as they sometimes Pretend, to serve a Turn, they would not *Revile* and *Redicule* it, as they do, calling it a *Madding Day*, and such like *Tokens* of their *Respect*, which they shew Us every Day in *Print*. And we know how their *Party* struggled hard in the *House of Commons*, since the *Revolution*, to have the *Observation* of this *Day* laid aside. And why so? If they thought it no *Reproach* to them? If they were perfectly *Innocent* of it?

But to give the *Whiggs* and *Dissenters* all the Advantage they wou'd have, suppose that Part of them, call'd *Presbyterians*, had been really against the *Murther* of *K. Cha. I.* And for the setting up of his *Son K. Cha. II.* As this had been no justification of the *Rest*; so neither would it be any *Proof* of the *Loyalty* or *Monarchical Principles*, even of these *Presbyterians*. For Mens *Actions* are no certain *Proof* of their *Principles* (except of those who *Voluntary Suffer* for them) where ther is an *Apparent Temptation* for them in the way of *Advantages* to be made by it, as these *Presbyterians* had, in the setting up *K. Cha. II.* Thereby to *Regain* that *Power* which the *Independents* had taken from them, and used *Rigorously* over them. But they shew'd their *Aversion* to *Monarchy*, tho' thus forced to make use of it, by those *Unworthy Limitations* before *Mention'd* which they put upon it, in the *Person* of this *King*.

Men's Principles are only known when they Act Freely; without Compulsion or Temptation. In Times of Persecution, Men have Renounc'd that Faith, which notwithstanding they did Firmly Believe; And others have been Brib'd to Act quite Opposite to their own Sentiments. Put where no such Bias is in the Way, Men are to be Distinguished by their known and avow'd Principles.

Now let the Whiggs or Dissenters, or any of them, shew any one Principle of Loyalty that they have, or any Notion of Government that is consistent with Monarchy, or indeed, with any settled Frame or Constitution: Or any Principle of Treason, of Perpetual Rebellion and Revolution, which they have not; and they will shew the World a Discovery! When they had the Power in their own Hands, they Supplanted and Kick'd out one another, without Intermission; and all upon the same Foot of Power in the People; till their own Confusions brought in Order and Restoration of the Antient Government and Monarchy.

And so much for their Loyalty at this time.

I come now to a New Notion and Reason for Occasional Conformity, that I have met with no where else but in this Occasional Letter, which coming to Answer the Objection of those who Receive the Sacrament OCCASIONALLY in the Church, and afterwards Rail at her, do's Justifie it, with this Reason, p. 25. For as I take it, the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in. This is a very Extraordinary Reason! For the H. Sacrament is the very Tessera and Bond of Christian Unity and Love, which is Exemplified in the Unity of the several Corns in one Loaf, as the Apostle speaks, We being Many, are one Bread, and one Body, 1 Cor. x. 17. Now sure the

XVI.
of Occa-
sional
Confor-
mity.

Members of the same Body, ought, at least, to be True to one another, and to the Body.

But to lessen the Horror of this Position, which seems a Dissolution of all Christian Faith and Charity, I must not conceal a Salvo he brings in for it, which yet is no Salvo at all, but brought in merely to Amuse! For when he says, *That the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church; Man Receives it in;* He adds, *So much as to be Faithful to his God.*

Now, what is the Meaning of this? Is it not God, who Requires Us to keep that Band of Unity and Love, of which the H. Sacrament is a Symbol? And is it not being Unfaithful to God, not to be True to this?

May not the same be said in any Church, or Communion, where a Man Receives the Sacrament? And so, it is not any Bond of Unity, or so much as Truth in any Church! What then? It may be made Use of in Dissimulation and Hypocrisy, to Under-mine and Destroy that Church, under the most Sacred Symbols of Truth and Love, even the very Body of Christ! It is Frightful to Repeat this! When the Holy Kiss went along with this Sacrament, wou'd it not be a Judas-Kiss, which such an Occasional Conformist shou'd give to his Fellow-Communicants, with whom he thought not himself United, and sought their Undoing, and the Ruin of that Church, with whom he did Communicate!

By this sort of Salvo, a Man may Securely vent all the Treason and Wickedness in the World! For Example, I owe not Obedience or Truth to my Prince,--- So much as to God! To be Faithful, or Just to Man--- So much as to God! And so, not to be True to the Church, tho' I Receive the Body and Blood of Christ with her; and, in that Sense, do Pawn them to her, for my Truth and Fidelity to her, and my Unity with her! And all

is Solv'd, by saying, *Not so much as to be Faithful to my God!*
 Whither will Men *Wander*, when they seek to De-
 fend what Themselv's know to be *Wicked!* When they
 give Themselves up to the *Drudgery of Writing* for a
Party, which they must Support, *Right or Wrong!*
 When they have no *Principles* left, but to serve Present
Turns!

What else is it cou'd make this *Author* Insinuate, as
 if no *Treason* cou'd be Committed against K. Char. II.
 Or ought not to have been *Punish'd*. For, p. 27. he
 calls those *Very Innocent Men*, who suffer'd for the *Rye-*
House-Conspiracy, and *Confess'd* it at their *Deaths*. And
 Slanders *some Parliaments* since, as if they had said the
 same. His Reason must be, because their *Attainders*
 were *Revers'd*, as of *Walcot*, &c. In the Beginning of
 this *Revolution*. Tho' the same *Walcot*, as others, did
Confess themselves *Guilty* of the Design'd *Assassination* of
 the *King* and *Duke*, and utter *Subversion* of the *Go-*
vernment, both in *Church* and *State*, even when they
 were at the *Gallows*. The *Attainders* likewise of *Argyle*,
 and others, who openly *Invaded* *Scotland*, in the *Reign*
 of K. *Jam. II.* were taken off in that *Country*. But
 may not a *Guilty Man* be *Pardon'd*, or his *Attainder*
Revers'd after his *Death*, for the Benefit of his *Heirs?*
 Do's not this rather suppose him to have been *Guilty?*
 Else what need of a *Pardon?* But did any of these
Parliaments Declare them to have been *very Innocent*
Men, as this *Author* Inters? The Consequence of which
 wou'd have been, That no *Treason* cou'd have been
 committed against K. *Char.* or K. *Jam.* But only a-
 gainst K. *Will.* Did not K. *Char. II.* *Pardon* some of
 the very *Regicides?* Did he therefore think them *very*
Innocent Men, who *Murder'd* his *Father?* But these
 Men think, that it is no *Treason* to *Depose* or *Murder*
 an *Hereditary King*; as not being the *Peoples King!*

XVII.
 No Treason a-
 gainst an
 Hereditary
 King.

This is our *Author's* Doctrine, if I can make Sense of it. But he has full Liberty to Explain himself. Which we Expect in his *Next*.

He goes on and Accuses K. Cha. II. of *Tyranny*, for the few that were Executed in the *Rye-House-Plot*, and proposes it as a *Frightful* Example to after Ages. For Quoting out of the *New-Assoc.* how easily that *Faction* was subdued by K. Char. II. after the *Rye-House-Plot*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, only by shewing his Authority, and letting them see he was not afraid of them (tho' they boasted as much of their Numbers and Power in the Country as they do now) this *Author* Answers, p. 26. But if he would have spoke out, the same Measures must be, preparing Axes and Gallows; for that was the Method which was then taken. These Axes and Gallows run strangely in this *Man's* Mind! Has he any *Qualms*? He will have the *Dissenters* Hang'd whether we will or no! But they were not all Hang'd then that did *Deserve* it. If more had been, some had been sav'd from the Guilt of *Rebellion* a *Second* time! But as it was not that *King's* Design, nor, I dare say; any Body's now, to have all this *Set* of People *Destroy'd*; only *Dis-arm'd* from doing farther *Mischief*, by having no Power put into their Hands; so where any thing is Touch'd upon that *Point*, they have no *Defence* to make, but that *Senseless* and *Invidious Clamour*, to say that the *Design* is to have them all *Extirpated*! As if there was no Medium betwixt that, and putting the *Sword* into their Hands! That they might *Extirpate* Us!

XVIII.
Their No-
tion of
Rebelli-
on.

But to shew you some more of his *No-Principles*, he falls upon the *Author* of *New Assoc.* for an Expression (which I cannot find in the Place he Quotes, which is p. 24.) wherein he happen'd to say, *The Rebellion of the Sevenois*, and Hews him down for calling those People *Rebels*. Now Sir, perhaps that *Author* was

was one of the *Jure-Divino-Men*, who think it not *Lawsful* upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms, &c. As our *Laws* once spoke. And in that Case, Sir, you should have Afforded him some *Reason* to open his *Understanding*, besides calling these a *Poor Distressed People*. Perhaps he thinks so as vvell as you. And the more, for what he calls their *Rebellion*; which has Render'd them much more *Miserable* than they were before. He will say, that he Pities all People in *Distress*, and is an Enemy to *Persecution*. But he may be apt to ask, whether the *Protestants* in *Hungary* were not *Persecuted*, and Terms broken with them, and had not as much *Right* to take *Arms* for their own *Preservation*, as the *Sevenois*, ? And how then came these to be *Rebels*, more than the *Sevenois* ? Do's their *Success* alter the *Justice* of the *Cause* ? Or their being a *Disturbance* to the *Emperor*, who is one of our *Allies* ? If so, we go not upon *Principles*, but upon what makes *For* us, or *Against* us ! And Sir, this makes us very *Contemptible* to those *People* who Pretend to *Principles* ; And gives them Opportunity to think that we have none. Therefore in your next, Please to Clear this Matter a little more, and for the Future, beware of giving such *Handles* against the *Cause* you wou'd Maintain ; That you be not thought a *True Tom-Double*, either set down your *Principles*, and stand by them ; or else *Renounce* them ; but do not *Betray* them.

And if you would not Despise a little *Help*, I offer this *Method* to your Consideration, to get over all this Matter more easily. Let then the *Sevenois* be *Rebels*, equal to the *Hungarians*, or not, upon the Point of *Principle* : Yet the Case of *War* alters the thing, as to Us. Who knows not, that *War* makes many things *Lawsful*, which otherwise are not so ? Even to stir up *Rebellion* and *Sedition* in our Enemies Country ;

as they wou'd serve Us, if they cou'd. Tho' I know, that Men of Strict *Principle* do *Object* against this *Method*. But we have the *Practice* of the *World* on our Side! Therefore, we will Beat down the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and call them *Rebels*, because they are against our *Allie*; and we will support the *Sevenoish*, and they shall not be *Rebels*, because we are at *War* with *France*. The *one* are *Rebels*, and the other are not, as to *Us*, however it be as to *Themselves*! Let them look to that!

And who can Deny, but that *War* will Justifie this *Method* with *Subjects*, when it do's it as to *Kings* themselves! Who would not Pull down a *King* he is at *War* with, and *Owne*, or *Disown* his Title, as serves best for our *Turn*? We did own *Philip* of *Spain* before the *War*; What then? And tho' he was set up upon the Foot of the *People*, and *Recogniz'd* by the *Cortezes*, or *Parliament*, by the *Grandeesh*, and *visibly*, to all *Appearance*, by the *Generality* of the *People*; And is now *King de Facto*; And, as far as the *People* can give him a Right, *de Jure* too; What of all this? By the *Unquestionable Prerogative* of *War*, have we not *Reduc'd* him to plain *Duke* of *Anjou* again; And set up the *de Jure* of *Char. III.* by *Inheritance*, against the *de Facto* of *Philip* by the *People*? And tho' this was not done at the *Beginning* of the *War*, nor was the *Cause* of the *War*; And that even since the *War* was *Proclaim'd*, our *Gazettes* did own *Philip* as *King* of *Spain*; All that makes nothing to the *Matter*, For in *War*, we must take our own *Time*; we are not to be *Directed* by our *Enemies*!

Sir, I leave it to you, whether this do's not *Solve* all these *Objections* *Cleverly*. And by the *Principles* of *War*! So that you need not be *Afraid* to go on vvith these Men upon *Principles*. You must alvvays set up one *Principle* against another. And *War* makes every thing

thing *Lawful*, it makes *Robbery* to be *Plunder*, and *Killing* no *Murther*, and why not *King* and *No King*! Remember that your *Scene* is in *War*, and you are safe in your *Entrenchments*!

But I would not Advise you to make such Desperate *Sallies* as you do, and where you are sure to be *Beaten* back. You throw your *Flail* about so *Heedlessly*, that you may *Beat* out your own *Brains* with it. What Need had you, in the very next *Paragraph*, to that above-Quoted, *p.* 28. to make so *Severe* a *Reflection* upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for his *Praying*, with *David*, to *Scatter* the *People* that *Delight* in *War*, and would *Entail* it upon *Us* and our *Posterities*?

XX.
This Au-
thor in
Enemy
to Peace.

Is it not a *Good Prayer*? And must not every *Good Christian*, and *True English-man* say *Amen* to it? But you are very *Angry* with it, and say *Ironically* of it, *A kind Reflection indeed!* An *Agent* for *France* cou'd have said little more. Pray, *Sir*, How is *France* Concern'd? Is *Praying* against *People* that *Delight* in *War*, speaking in *Favour* of *France*? Is it not *France* that wou'd *Entail* *War* upon *Us*? And is speaking against such, being an *Agent* for *France*? You will give *Us* a *New Notion* of *France*! Is not the *French King* Apparently the *Cause* of the *War*? Is not He the *Aggressor*? And must not the *Blood* Shed then lie upon *Him*? *A kind Reflection indeed!* But it seems, this *Author* is an *Agent* for *Some*, he knows, who *Delight* in *War*, and wou'd *Entail* it--- against whom we *Pray* every *Day* in our *Churches*, That *God* wou'd *Abate* their *Pride*, *Assuage* their *Malice*, and *Confound* their *Devises*.

Postscript

TO

LEGION.

New-Vamp'd *MILLION*.

Gentlemen,

WH O Subscribe your selves *Devils*, saying, *Our Name is Legion, for we are Many*. You have been call'd *Round-heads, Whiggs*, and such like *Nick-Names*; But we knew not your true *Name*, till your *Godfathers* have now told Us! And if you had not been *Possess'd*, you would never have taken such a *Name* to your selves. But you think to *Frighten* Us with your *Numbers*; and now Subscribe your selves *MILLION*, and *more*. You wou'd Reduce Us to the *Indian Religion*, to *Worship* the *Devil* for *Fear*. Is this your *Reformation*!

And as to your *Numbers*, none can take it to be any thing else but an *Empty Brag*, while we see the *House of Commons* is against you. And how better can the *Sense* of the *Nation* be known? And

And your now falling Foul upon the *House of Commons*, who are the *Representatives* of the *People*; and taking Sanctuary with the *Lords*, who are Created *Arbitrarily*, at the *Meer Will* and *Pleasure* of the *King*, is a total *Overthrow* of your *Foundation-Principle* of the *Power* in the *People*. Whose *Choice* you like not so well as whom the *King* has *Chose*; Yet you Rail at *Prerogative*!

Upon your Foot, the *People* shou'd have *Power* to Turn out their *Representatives*, whenever they are *Displeas'd* with them; And to *Choose* others, by their own *Authority*; To meet *When*, and *Where*, and as *Often* as they *Pleas*e. And to be *Accountable* to the *People*.

But it was never so in *England*, or any where else. Nor indeed can be. It wou'd be perfect *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

Therefore, you *Whiggs*, or *Devils*, have given a *Demonstrative Proof* against your own *Pretences* of *Power* in the *People*.

And if you cannot Solve these things, you can no longer be *Believ'd* by any *Man* of *Common Sense*. But, to Pursue your own *Allusion*, your *Legion* must be turn'd into the *Herd* of *Swine*, those *Beasts* of the *People*, who being once *Possess'd* with *You*, Run *Headlong* to their own *Destruction*.

And now, my *little Devils*, I'll tell you a *Story*. The *Secretary* of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Mr. Thurlo*, being Ask'd by a *Noble Peer* (whom I can Name) soon after the *Restoration*, 1660, How it came to pass, That their *Party* being *Possess'd* of the *People* and the *Power*, came so *Unaccountably* to lose *Both*, as it were in a *Moment*? *Mr. Thurlo* Answer'd, That is was chiefly owing to the *Cavalier-Pamphlets*. And though, said he, those wrote on our Side were much more *Numerous*, having the *Countenance* and *Encouragment* of the *Government*; yet, I must confess, That the other wrote for the

Royal

Royal Cause, had the *Wit* and the *Argument* of Us. They Expos'd what the *People* at last *Felt*, the *Oppression*, the *Giddiness*, and *Unstability* of *Government*, upon the *Foot* of the *People*. And all our *Authority* cou'd not keep our *Ground* against it.

The *Application*, *Gentlemen*, is *Easie*. If you cannot *Learn* to *speak Sense*, if you will set up *Principles* which you cannot *Maintain*; and then *Act* in *Direct Opposition* to them; tho' you have all the *Connivance* (at least) of the *Government* to *Write* on, without *Controul*; And that the *People* have been hitherto even *Bewitch'd*, (a *Second* time) with your *Pretences* of *Liberty* and *Property*; Yet their *Eyes* will be open'd by the *Force* of *Truth* and *Experience*. And you sent to the *Place* from whence you *came*. And the *Nation* Rescu'd from the *Fatality* you have brought upon them, of being a *Kingdom Divided against it self*. And which cannot *Stand*, unless your *Leaven* be *Purg'd* out of it.

F I N I S.

CASSANDRA.

(*But I Hope not*)

Telling what will come of it.

N U M B. II.

I N

A N S W E R

T O T H E

Occasional Letter.

N U M B. I.

W H E R E I N

The *New-ASSOCIATIONS*, &c.

Are C O N S I D E R E D.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by the Bookfellers of *London* and
Westminster, 1704.

ARIZONA

1885

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	ERRA

ERRATA'S.

Page 9. line 18. read *Fury*. p. 10 l. 18. f. *Baffles* r. *Battles*. p. 11. l. 32. f. up.
r. *out*. p. 13. l. 11. f. *Respectively* r. *Respectfully*. p. 17. l. 13. r. *Regal*. p. 24.
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spectively r. *Respectfully*. l. 25. r. *give*. l. 29. r. *given of*. p. 38 l. 7. f. *there* r. *then*;
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CASSANDRA.

Numb. II.

THE *Occasional Letter* is not content to spend its *Wit* and *Malice* against the *Author* of the *New-Association*, but falls upon others, whom he supposes to be of the same *Party*. And undertakes to *Battel* them All!

I.
Several
Authors
Reflected
upon in
the *Occasional Letter*.

One he does not name, nor his *Book* neither; but makes what he says an *A&T* of the *Party*, thus p. 21. *By one of their late Books we are all, that are hearty at least for the Principles of the late Revolution, call'd Schismaticks, and Foreign Churches Appeal'd to, and Declarations made, That there was no Continuing in our Communion without Hazard of their Salvation.*

i.
One not
Nam'd.

Now in the *Book* which I am *Confident* he means, there is not, in the first Place, any *Argument* against the *late Revolution*. It meddles not with the *State-Point*. It is wholly an *Ecclesiastical* Dispute, of the *Rights* of the *Church*, with *Relation* to the *Civil Powers* in *General*, without *Entring* into the *Contest* of *Competitors* about that *Power*.

In the next Place, as to the Point of *Schism*, he makes it Allowable only in such Cases where there is a *Hazard* of our *Salvation*. And is not this more *Orthodox* and *Rational*, and more for the *Peace* and *Unity* of the *Church*, than such a slight Notion of *Schism*, as that we may run into it, for Things our selves own to be *Indifferent*; and with which we may Comply *Occasionally*, without any *Hazard* at all to our *Salvation*? Yet these *Latter* he sets himself to *justify*, and *Condemn's* the *Former*!

The Point that *Author* insists upon is *Lay-Deprivation*. And if I mistake not the *Author* of this *Occasional Letter*, he has express'd himself elsewhere against it. I know not a *Clergy-Man* in *England* that is for it in plain Terms; or wou'd ever wish to see it *Practis'd* again in *England*: Whatever some may say to justify the *Complying* with it, when it is done by an *Irresistable Force*. So that there needed not such an *Exclamation* against that very *Learned Author*.

21. He next fall's upon the *Abridger* of *Eusebius* in the same *Pag. 21.* and says, *That all the Passages which Protestants make use of against Papists, and which are some of them the strongest-against them of all Antiquity, are omitted.* He names none of them. And the *Abridger* professes that he cannot so much as *Guess* at what he means. Desires him to *Instance*; and he will be oblig'd to *justify* himself.

He has put but four *Marginal Notes* of his own to the whole *Abridgment*, and *Two* of them are against the *Papists*, one p. 85. upon the *Sufficiency* of the *H. Scriptures*, the other, p. 100, concerning the *Canon* of the *Scriptures*. That p. 90 is against the *Arians*. And the *Fourth*, p. 177, is of the *Patient Suffering* of the *Primitive Christians* under their *Persecutors*, and that they thought not *Rebellion* a *Lawful Remedy*, which may be justly reckon'd against the *Papists* too, and their *Deposing Doctrine*, on account of *Religion*. But it seems it has Hit some other sort of *Folks*, who have no worse Word than *Popery* to bestow

[except.

[except that of an *High-Church-Man*] And they throw it, as a *Blind-Man* do's his *Club*, at All who come in their Way.

The next who is attack'd in the same *Paragraph* is the *Author* of a *Preface* or *Epistle*, before the said *Abridgment*; 3. Preface to the Abridgment wherein (says this *Occasional-Letter*) there are vile *Reflections* unjustly cast upon *Arch-Bishop Tillotson*, and very kind *Encomiums* upon some of the *Great Managers*, in *K. James's* *Reign*, and one of the *Chief Champions* for a *Popish Cause*.

As to this last of *Encomiums*, I can find nothing like it, not a Tittle in that *Preface*: This is pure *Invention*, and *Slander* for *Slander-sake*! Let this *Author* point it out and name it.

As to the other Part of the *Accusation* concerning *Arch-Bishop Tillotson*, he is not once nam'd in all the *Preface*, nor any *Book* of his, or any *Book* at all, in the Place intended. So that the *Applier* of this to any Body is the *Author* of the *Scandal*. There are indeed some very offensive *Tenets* named, p. 17, 18, wherein the *Truth* of the *Christian Religion* is Highly Concern'd. And that ought to take Place of the *Regard* we have to any Man. And how more tenderly cou'd it be done, as to the *Author*, than neither to-Name him, nor the *Books* where they are to be found? Others might say the same things. But if this *Vindicator* will Put it upon *Arch-Bishop Tillotson*, he ought then to have *justified* those *Passages*; or to have shew'd, that they were *Falsly* *Attributed* to the *Arch-Bishop*. I desire that neither I nor any *Friend* of mine may have such *Vindicators*! To bring a Man's *Name* upon the *Stage*, under an *Accusation*, and then not to say one *Word* in his *Defence*! I leave it to the *Reader*, whether the *Author* of that *Preface*, or this *Occasional Letter*, has done most *Injury* to the *Memory* of *Arch-Bishop Tillotson*?

But be that as it will. Why are these *Books* *Charg'd* upon whole *Parties* of Men? Unless you will Allow the same *Liberty*. We must suppose that is intended.

There.

II.
Of Charging Books upon Parties.

Therefore we have Liberty, by your own Rule, to Charge upon the whole Body of the *Whigs* and *Dissenters*, those *Pamphlets* that come out on their Side; those which Endeavour'd to Defeat the *Succession* of the *Queen*, and bring in the *House* of *Hannover* before Her; or now upon her, to *Supplant* her. Which represent the *House* of *Hannover* as *Enemies* to our *Church*, and fix'd to the Interest of the *Dissenters*. So that the way to make *Court* to them, in time, is, to Set up the *Dissenters*, and Depress the *Church*. And all those *Pamphlets*, which pursuant to this *Politick*, do daily throw out the most Bitter *Invectives* against the *Church* of *England*, under the Name of the *High-Church*; And cry up *Moderation*, that is, as they Explain it, to let in the *Dissenters* to all Places of *Power* and *Trust*; I say, That by the *Rule* here set down, and *Practis'd* by this *Author*, all these are to be Charg'd upon the *Party*, upon the *Whigs* and *Dissenters*.

Observator.

And they stand particularly Answerable for their *Observer*, who expressly maintains the *Deposing Doctrine*; makes the *King* but one of the *Three Estates*; Accountable to the other *Two*, or one of them which Represents the *People*; And even *Deposable* by them, to be *Attainted*, and put to *Death* by them. Or, to give it you in his own *Modest Words*, [Vol. 2. Num. 22.] *To be Depriv'd of all Power, Imprison'd, Depos'd, and Confin'd to Monasteries, drawn through the Streets, Cut to Pieces, &c. And all this for their Treason against the State.* He instances in *Nero*, who, he says, *was attainted of Treason, and Condemn'd to Die.* This was bringing the Matter as near as he cou'd to our *Royal Martyr*; whom these *Infernal Fiends* call'd a *Nero*, as their *Predecessors* did his *Master* a *Beelzebub*. And to cut off the *Distinction*, That the *Emperours* of *Rome* were then *Elective*, but our *Kings* are *Hereditary*, he asserts in a following *Observer*. [Vol. 2. Num. 25.] *That the Regal Dignity can never be Hereditary;* His Reason is, because it is an *Office*, and Compares it to that of the *Lord Mayor* or *Sheriffs*,

Sheriffs. It is an *Affront* to *Argue* with such a *Brute*. This is only to shew the *Maxims* of the *Party*. He endeavours to Prove that our *Government* was never *Hereditary*, because the *Line* of *Succession* was often *Broke*, and *Usurpations* made upou it. But if he had *Common Sense*, he wou'd have seen, That this is a *Proof* it was *Hereditary*, else, the *Hereditary Line* cou'd not have been *Broke*. In the *Contests* of *York* and *Lancaster*, both *Parties* did pretend to be *Next* in *Blood* to the *Crown*. That was the whole *Dispute*. Which shews that the *Hereditary Right* was the *Rule*. He quotes a *Statute* of *Q. Eliz.* [*Vol. 2. Num. 23.*] That the *Queen*, with and by the *Parliament*, may *Limit* the *Succession* of the *Crown*; and *Imposing Penalties* on those who shall *Deny* that this may be done by *Parliament*, with the *Royal Assent*. And the *Inferences* he draws from it are, That the *Parliament* may do it, without the *King* [or *Queen*] or *Against* them; and without the *Royal Assent*: And that it is a *Right* in the *People* to do it, which is so far from being *Asserted* or *Imply'd* in the said *Statute*, that the direct *Contrary* is the *Import* of it. He quotes [*ibid. Num. 27.*] some *Acts* of *Parliament* in *Scotland*, made in the *Reign* of *K. Char. 2.* which *Assert* the *Hereditary Right* from, the *Laws* of *God*, as well as *Man*; And that no *Difference* in *Religion*, nor no *Law*, nor *Act* of *Parliament*, made, or to be made, can *Alter* or *Diveſt* the *Right* of *Succession*, and *Lineal Deſcent* of the *Crown*, to the *Nearest* and *Lawful Heirs*. And how do's he *Answer* this? He calls it an *act* of the *Episcopal Dissenters* of *Scotland*. Was the *Episcopal Church* *Dissenters* then? And may they not call other *Acts* made since, *Presbyterian* and *Whigg-Acts*? And so there is an *End* of all *Acts* of *Parliaments*, if they may be thus *Thrown off* by any *Party* that is not *Pleas'd* with them! Then the *Known Laws* of the *Land* are no *Standard* of *Right* or *Wrong*, of *Just* or *Unjust*; Nor are we to be *Determin'd* by them! This is the *Doctrin* of these *Men*, who stand so much for the

the *Laws*! Who Cry out, The *Laws*! The *Laws*! And yet will be *Concluded* by no *Laws* which *Cross* their *Humor*!

But what will they say to the many *Acts* of *Parliament* in *England*, particularly 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. and 1 *Jac.* c. 1. which Acknowledge the *Crown* of *England* to be *Hereditary*, and that *Jure Divino* too? Why? They were *Episcopal* *Acts* likewise! And of *Episcopal* *Dissenters* too, who *Dissented* from the *Honest* *Dissenters*! And the *Former* were *Papish* *Acts*! What have we to do with them?

But how will they answer their own, even the *Presbyterian* *Confession of Faith*? Which says, *Chap.* 23. That *Difference in Religion*, nay, that *Infidelity*, it self, *doth not make void the Magistrate's Just and Lawful Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him.* Cou'd they *Sham* at this Rate, and even in their *Confession of Faith*, to blind the *Eyes* of the *World*, that they might carry on their wicked *Designs*! Otherwise let *Observer* try his hand, if he can *Salve* this from being *Rank Passive Obedience*, and *Jure divino*!

However he will not be out of *Countenance*! In the same *Observer*, last nam'd, he puts a *Case* will *Frighten* the *Presbyterian* *Loyalty*, and *ours* too. He says, *Was there ever yet a Christian People, who suffer'd a Prince to Wade to the Throne thro' the Blood of his Father? This wou'd indeed be an Un-natural Succession.* It wou'd indeed! And yet I fancy it not *Impossible*, that the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* might be brought to *Allow*, even of *This*, upon a *Valuable Consideration*! To *Promote* the *Good-Old-Cause*! To turn *Hereditary* into *Elective*: And *Mumble* *Kings* and *Bishops*!

In the same *Observer*, to shew his *Skill* in the *Laws*, he says, *Treason is two fold, either, as Committed against the King, as he is Invested with the Executive Power, or against the People, as they are Invested with the Legislative Power.* Here the *Superior* *Power* is put in the *People*, and
the

the *Supreme*, which is the *Legislative*. The *Executive* is no other than that of an *Executioner*, who *Executes* the *Sentence* pass'd by his *Superiors*; and he is *Accountable* to them for his *Performance*. Thus says the *Observer* in the same *Place*, *The King of England is the Peoples King; and the Laws of England are the Peoples Laws*. That is, *Both Made* by the *People*. Thence he *Infers*, as before *Quoted*, That *Nero* was *Attainted* of *Treason*, that *Kings* may be *Depos'd*, *drawn thro' the Streets*, *Cut to Pieces*, &c. for their *Treason* against the *People*!

But he will find no such *Nonsense* in our *Laws*, which know of no *Treason* but against the *King*. And as has been before *quoted* in the first *Part*. *Sect. 2*. *Debar* the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively*, from having any thing to do with the *Legislative*, without the *King*. And it is made *Premunire* to *Affert* it. *13. Car. 2. c. 1*. Let the *Observer* think of this!

But his *Furies* blinds him, he knows not what makes *For* or *Against* what he wou'd be at. He quotes [*ibid.* p. 24.] *The Incomparable and truly Honourable Algernon Sidney his answer to Filmer*, saying thus, *He is no King, who assumes the Title to himself, or is set up by a Corrupt Party*. Now this is most *Incomparable Nonsense*, upon his *Scheme* of *Government* in the *People*; unless he can shew, that ever any *Party* of the *People*, especially the *Prevailing Party*, who cou'd set up a *King*, did call themselves a *Corrupt Party*! Or, that they were not call'd so, by the *Opposite Contending Party*! And who is *Judge* betwixt these several *Parties* of the *People*? Is there any other, but *Civil War* and *Destruction*, till the one can *Conquer* the other, and *keep* them down? The least *Drachm* of *Thought*, wou'd shew such a *Scheme* to be *Contradiction* and endless *Confusion*!

But who then do's *Algernon Sidney* allow to be *King*? None, but he who according to the *Usages* requir'd in the *Case*, is made *King*. If these be wanting [says he, as here

quoted by the *Observer*] *he is neither de Facto, nor de Jure Rex; but Tyrannus sine Titulo.* Did Mr. *Observer* Consider where this wou'd light!

But he grows *Bold* to Purpose! And having plainly said in many of his *Observers*, That the *Queen* had no *Title* to the *Crown*, but the *Act of Settlement*, he Affirms [*ibid.* Num. 86.] That to assert an *Hereditary Government* in England, is a *Squint-Ey'd Reflexion* on her *Majesty's Title*. How now! Is the *Observer* turn'd *Perkinite*? Will he Run *Counter* to the many *Loyal Addresses* made to her *Majesty*, upon her *Accession*; where they Acknowledg'd her *Undoubted Right*, as well by *Blood* as by *Law*?

Nor will it serve his Turn, to say, that he meant this only against the *Perkinites*; for that wou'd be no *Reflection* on her *Majesty's Title*, what a *Few Inconsiderable Men* may say! But he *Explains* it, and applies to it the *Title* it self, in the *Words* just going before, where he Expressly *Baffles* this *Position*, That our *Government* is an *Hereditary Monarchy*. And says to him that Asserted it, *He can never prove our Government to be an Hereditary Monarchy, either by our Laws, the Custom of our Ancestors, or our own; the Act of Settlement, I am sure, says no such thing, but the Contrary; and for this Man to assert an Hereditary Government in England, is a Squint-ey'd Reflection on her Majesty's Title.* This is Arguing from the *Thing*; and not from what any Body Says of it. And is not a *Squint-ey'd* but a *manifest Reflection* upon her *Majesty's HEREDITARY Right*, and the *General Sense* and *Joy* of the *Nation*, Express'd in their *Dutiful Addresses*, wherein they do *Recognize* the same. But these *Gentlemen* think, that the *Addition* of an *Hereditary Right*, do's hurt her *Title*; according to their *Maxim*, and the *Name* of one of their *Treasonable Pamphlets*, *The Worse Title, the better King.*

But as the *Hereditary Right* is Acknowledg'd to be *Jure Divino*, in the *Acts* of *Recognition* of *Q. Eliz.* and of *K. Jam. 1.* and by the *Tenor* of our *Laws*: So her *Majesty's Title*

Title stands *Firmer* upon that Foundation than by the *Revolution Acts*; Wherefore some who stood out all the *Revolution Acts*, and wou'd not *Recognize K. Will.* while the *Princess of Denmark* liv'd, have Submitted to Her, since She came to the *Crown*. Some do it on the Foot of the *Revolution*, others upon her *Hereditary Right*. If *Both* then Centre in Her, it cannot be meant for her Service to Deprive her of *either*. But these Men wou'd have her stand only upon the *Revolution-foot*, that they may more Easily Trip up her *Heels*.

They *Hate* the Name of *Hereditary Right*. Especially which is Deriv'd from *K. Charles the Martyr*, or his Son *K. James*. It makes the *Observer* remember the *Whipping* was *Forgiven* him, and the *Hanging* too which he Deserv'd, for being Engag'd in *Monmouth's Rebellion*; which he will let go to be such, only because it did not *Succeed!* And he has Pay'd his *Thankful Return* for the *Mercy* then shew'd him, according to the old Proverb, *Save a Rogue from the Gallows* — — —

Towards which he has shew'd his *Loving Inclination*, not *Obscurely* in his *Observer* [*ibid.* N. 13.] where he do's *Summon* his Party to Arms, and says, *I am Resolv'd to get my self and Family Compleatly Arm'd; I have got already two good Protestant Muskets, and three Basket Hilt Swords, that were us'd at Warston-Hoor, Edge-Hill, &c.* These were the *Fatal Battles successful* to the *Rebels* against *K. Char. 1.* which are here Remember'd with *Pleasure!* And *Notice* given to be *Ready* for the like again! To set up *Puffs* (as they call their *Commonwealth*) in her *Majesty!* Which they have begun in *Scotland*, by the Appearance of *Seven Hundred Men* in Arms [for a *Beginning*] Giving up *Declarations*, Renouncing *Q. Ann, &c.* as before is mention'd. And we have Allowance to take *Notice* of the Behaviour of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*; since this Author has bestow'd so many of his *Observers* upon the *Episcopal Church* there. All which, or any thing else that

comes from such an *Infamous* Hand, were not worth any Body's Regard, if he were not set up as the *Cryer* and *Trumper* of the Party!

And therefore, I may bring him in as Evidence against this *Occasional Letter*, which Abuses the *Whigs*, in saying, that they *disown* their *Calves-Head-Fests*, as if they were *asham'd* of them! And counted those *Profligate* Fellows who frequent them. If that Author be not one of them, he shou'd let them speak for themselves. They will give him no *Thanks* for such *Vindications*!

Their *Observer* [Vol. 2. N. 89.] calls their *Calves-Head-Fests* by no such Names of *Reproach*, nor *disowns* them at all. But *Laughs* at those who Object it, and calls them *Cods-Heads*.

And is far from *Condemning* the *Fest* which they there *Commemorate*. He says of it, *I have so High a Value for the Prudence and Justice of our Fore-Fathers, as not to Condemn any of their Actions for the Common Good.* He adds [with a *Smile!*] *but upon good Grounds, which we of this Age can never have in that Particular.* How so? Have we not the very *Trial* verbatim? And several yet *alive* who *Heard* it, and were *Spectators* of the *Bloody Tragedy*? Have we not the *Horrid Indictment*, and the *Sentence*, the *Original* of which is still in Being, with the very *Cursed Hands* to it who *Sign'd* it? Have we not *Bradshaw's* Learned *Speech* upon *Passing* the *Sentence*, of the *Power* in the *People*, and all the *Whig-Principles*, which they have *Transcrib'd* and *Repeated* ever since? Did not the *Observer* know this, who has taken all his *Doctrines* and *Arguments* out of it, for the most Part, in the same *Words*? Has not he seen the *Trial* of the *Regicides*, wherein they said all they cou'd for their *Defence*? And cannot this *Cause* then be *Known*?

But he thinks his *Cause* too *Glorious*, not to be own'd *Publickly* and *Above-board*! He goes on, *We are unkind to our selves, in Censuring the Justice of our Fore-Father's Actions;*

Actions; and thereby do give a Handle to our Successors to Censure ours. Did our Fore-fathers Deftitute the Father? Did not we Depose the Son, and put one more Righteous in his Stead? Did we not divest him of all his Regalities, make him a Fugitive on the Earth; and may not Future ages examine the difference betwixt the Decollation and the Abdication?

Are not these fine Lectures to be Read to the Nation twice a Week!

1. Here is a Manifest Justification of the Decollation, as he Respectively calls it!

2. As plain an Arraignment of the whole Revolution, which he makes full as Bad as the Decollation.

3. A Civil Lesson to the Queen, That she is Liable to the same Usage as they Bestow'd upon her Father, or Royal Grand-Father! And to Put one more Righteous in her Stead! And we know whom they count Righteous! None that will Maintain the Church of England! Who will Countenance Malignants or High-flyers, either for the Church or the Monarchy! See the Declaration annex'd.

4. The Un-Parallel'd Insolence with which they Treat her Majesty, in Trampling so disdainfully upon the Ashes of her Royal Father and Grand-Father. Their Story is too Lamentable to be Insulted, in so Scornful a Manner, and that before her Face, as to Call her Father a Fugitive on the Earth, the very Curse of Cain! And to speak with an Air of Triumph, of De-collating and De-truncating her Royal Grand-Father, calling it Justice, and the Common-Good!

And then Minding her Majesty of Edge-Hill, Marston-Moor, &c. And Boasting, That the same Protestant Swords and Muskets are Ready to Fight for her—As they did for her Grand-father!

Such Insolence was never offer'd to a Crown'd-Head, while upon the Throne. Which makes it Justly to be Fear'd, that they have something near in View, which is not Good! Pray God Avert. They

They made not near so much Hast with her Royal Grand-father, to whom they were Professing and Addressing their Loyalty, till they just had his Head upon the Block.

And they were not Behind in their Addresses to her Royal Father; Calling God to Witnesses their Sincerity! At the same time they were Plotting to Destroy him! And We had done it sooner [says Observer, Vol. 2. N. 84.] if we had an Opportunity of so doing.

Such an Impudent Herald wou'd never be Employ'd, if they were not Ready to give the On-set!

His Character is best taken from himself, who, when one ask'd him what he had to say for all the Monstrous Villanies Charg'd upon him in Fuller's Penitential Confession, cou'd not deny the Fact; and made but a Jest of it, saying, *The more Mischief, the better Sport.* And that he lov'd Mischief dearly.

From this Qualification it was, that he had the Intolerable Impudence, in his Observer [Vol. 2. N. 79.] when he was order'd to be taken into Custody by the House of Commons, not only to Banter and Ridicule that Honourable House (knowing what Party he had to Support him) saying, he wou'd drink a Glass of Wine with their Sergeant next May-day (when he suppos'd the Parliament wou'd be up) but wou'd not keep him Company this Winter Season, &c. And not only this, but he Endeavour'd what he cou'd to set the Houses of Lords and Commons at Variance, upon his Worthy account, and Threatens them withal, saying, *So that if the Lords do not Insist on their Privilege, as I am now their Servant, &c.* He tells what the Nation will Suffer by it! And he Insults over the House of Commons, as his Servants, saying, *I have now two Members in the House of Commons, Representing my Person.* These Commonwealth Principles make Men Insolent, and to Forget all Deference and Regard to their Superiors; every Man looking upon himself as the Original and Maker of Kings and

and Parliaments! And above them! As he says, in the same *Observer*, *Their Power is deriv'd from the Native Right of the People, which authorizes them to make Laws, to Settle the Succession and Limitations of the Crown; every King or Queen of England has her or his Political Essence and Being from Parliament, &c.* It is astonishing that Men should be so far given up to *Delusion*, as to Argue against the plain Matter of Fact which they see before their Eyes! For is it not *Demonstration*, that the quite *Contrary* to this *Republican* Notion, is the Fact with us? *Viz.* That the *Parliament* has its *Political Essence and Being* from the *King or Queen*? Can the *King* then have his *Being* from *Them*? Who call'd that *Parliament* which made the *first King*? Do the *Freeholders* who *Vote* for *Parliament Men* derive that *Power* from the *People*, and not from the *King's Charters* to them? When did the *People* agree to give up their *Power* into the Hands of such and such *Freeholders*; and Excluding all others, tho' of *forty* times their *Estates and Interest* in the *Kingdom*? Who have of these *Freeholders* to wear their *Liveries*, and *Clean* their *Shoes*!

But tho' there is neither *Sense* nor *Reason* in these *Schemes*, and that they are against Fact too; yet, as the *Observer* says of himself, there is *Mischief* in them; and that *delights* him! And too many others of his *Party*. Tho' I am satisfy'd several of them are led *astray* thro' *Weakness* of *Judgment*, or not giving themselves *Time* to *Consider* and *examine*.

Of this *Natural Inclination* to *Mischief* and *Lying*, the *Observer* has given another *Notable Instance*; in that when he was in the *Secret* of that *Godly Murderous Design*, of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, he lent all his *Might* to carry on the *Fest* (as they call it, since it was *Discover'd*) and in his *Observers*, Charg'd it Home upon the *High-Church*. To raise the *Mob*, if they cou'd, upon the whole *Church*; or leave *Them* to *distinguish* as they

they thought fit! And it was going on *Apace*, before the *Happy Discovery*; it being put in the *Mouths* of the whole *Party* of *Whigs* and *Dissenters*, that it came from the *High-Church*; not that I suppose they were *All* let in to the *Secret*; But they *All* did *Believe* it, or they *Ly'd*! And the *Clergy* were *Pointed* at, and *Mark'd* as they walk'd along the *Streets*, and *Insulted* in *Private Conversation*; and call'd no better than *Cut-Throats* and *Bloody Minded-Men*! They were growing into the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of the *Nation*! And all this call'd now a *Jest*! They wou'd have thought it better *Sport*, if it had *Succeeded*! *Godly Men*! Who make a *Mock* of *Sin*.

But it is not only the *Clergy* who are *Stigmatiz'd* by this *foul Mouth*. In his *Observer* of *March 18. N. 99.* he throws at the whole *Government*, the *Bench*, the *Council Table*, those at *St. Stephen's*, that is, the *House of Commons*, but in the *House of Lords* he only names the *Wool-Packs*, that is, the *Judges* (it seems the *Lords* continue yet in his good *Graces*) and ends with *The CHURCH* in his *List of Knaves*, he affords them no better *Word*. In his *Observ.* of *March 11. 1703. N. 97.* he is plainer with the *Judges*, and says, *I am Ready to answer in Court to any Indictment, where I expect to have fair Play, and not to be Condemn'd without being Heard, which will be the Practice of our Courts of Justice, as long as our present Judges are in Being. And if they are Succeeded by the Race of Jefferies and Jenner, I can but go into another Country; I have been taught the Way already.*

Yes. And what to do when you are there! Even what you did before, to bring about another *Revolution*, and *Serve* the *Queen*, as you did her *Father*! What else is the *Meaning* of *Rendring* her whole *Administration* so *Odious*, and *Comparing* it to what they had *Represented* that of her *Father*? Her *Judges*, her *Council*, &c.

But he goes further in the same *Observer*, and directly *attacks* his *Royal Highness* the *Prince*. He had long *Shot*

at Him by a *Side Wind*, yet so as every body must see it, by finding Fault with the Management of the *Fleet*, and Directing whom he thought Fitter to be Entrusted with it. And coming now to Answer the Objection of these *Reflections* upon the *Lord High Admiral*, he tells Him Roundly, That *Affidavits* were made and deliver'd to the *Prince's Council*, of *Embezlements of the Stores*, &c. *Notwithstanding which, the Grand Grievance was not Redress'd, and the Persons Guilty were still continu'd to be Employ'd in the Service.* And, That the *Highest Office in England, is not above the Law of England, and the Laws of England were made to Detect and Punish Offenders.* But the *Highest Office* is the *Regals*. And that he means, for Employing such an *Admiral*. That is his Constant *Theam and Doctrine*, to Call the *Crown* to Account for *Mal-administrations*.

The *Faction* want but the *Fleet* in their Hands, and then they wou'd be *Ready!* To this End, they have been *Blackning* all the *Admirals* and *Officers* in the *Fleet* who are not of their *Kidney*, as well in their *Conversation*, as *Proclaiming* it in their *Observers*. Many of which are spent upon *Sir George Rook*, &c. They would fain *Talk* them out of their *Places*. When any Thing Miscarries in the Hands of their *Friends* (which happens oftner than in the others) then they lay the Fault upon the *Government*, and their *Orders* from *Above*; there is *Treachery* at the *Fountain!* &c.

Never was a *Government* so openly and *Bare-fac'd Attack'd!* This *Enflaming Paper* go's still abroad, and is become more *Virulent*, since the *Votes* of the *House of Commons*, and the *Proclamation* pursuant against the *Author*. He *Banters* and *Ridicules* both the *Queen* and *Commons*, and Declares he will still *Write* on. He *Trumpets* more *Loudly* than ever. And, with the Help of his *Party*, thinks himself an *Over-Match* for the *Government*. And they

make use of this as an Argument to shew its *Weakness*. As if it cou'd not *Suppress* this Paper.

The *Grand-Jury* at the *Old-Baily* last Session, *Mar. 9. 1704*. made a *Presentment* against a Paper wrote in Opposition to the *Observer*, call'd *Heraclitus Ridens*, for Reflections upon Sir *Rob. Jefferies*, lately deceased. And they did well, if they had sufficient Grounds for it. I have not seen it. *Slander* and *Defaming* particular Persons, is by no means to be Endur'd. Especially in *Print*, where they can make no *Defence*. But I wonder how they came to miss the *Observer*, who not only speaks evil of *Dignities*, but *Bespatters* private Persons by *Name*, *Clergy-Men*, and others in the *City*, even *Women* who are Related to them, and for that only Reason, endeavours to *Blast* their *Reputation*, as the *Sister* of a *Clergy-Man* in the *City*, &c. What a Description do's he give of Mr. *Fuller* a *Justice* of the *Peace*, in his *Observer* of *March 11. Num. 97.* whom he calls *Paunch-Belly'd Fellow*, a *Kidnapper*, a *Dog* in a *Wheel*, a *Blood-Sucker*, &c. No man is safe from him. He is like a *Mad-man* throwing *Fire-Brands*. But he is Supported by a *Party*, and thinks himself safe at the hand of *Grand-Juries* in the *City*. And is Carry'd on by his own *Natural* Inclination to *Mischief*, as he truly said of himself, and Repeats it again, *Observer Vol. 2. Num. 98. I love Mischief you know.* He is fond of the *Character*. He says, *Num. 99.* That he will *Trace the Scent of Mischief to its proper Fountain*. But that at present it lies a little out of his *Depth*, and he wou'd not *Drown* himself. But bids us *have a little Patience*, and he may be open hearted again. That he has been already as to the *Church*, the *Prince*, the *House of Commons*, the *Council*, the *Judges*, &c. We may easily guess then whom he means by the *Fountain of Mischief!*

And he begins to *open* finely in his *Observ. March 29. 1704. Vol. 3. Num. 2.* where he Accuses all the *Officers* employ'd in *England*, from the *Highest* to the *Lowest*. And Promises

Promises to give such *Catalogues* of their *Villany*, and *Knavery*, as he *Prophanely* Compares to what is said of our *Blessed SAVIOUR's Miracles*. Joh. 21. 25. And this will go down among the *Godly*, being Intended for their *Service*!

But that they might not mistake at whom he Aim'd, he Asks what *Religion* these *Officers* are of whom he thus Threatens? And answers, *Church-Men, All Church-Men, true Blue Protestants of the Church of England*. And that *there are no Dissenters among them*. Then he falls upon the *Bishops*, whom he so Highly *Courted* while the *Bill of Occassional Conformity* was depending; And O! How he Prais'd their *Moderation*! But now putting the *Question*, where the *Rogues* are to be found? He says, *Go ask the Upper House of Convocation; There you may hear them at the old Trade of Billingsgate, thou Rogue, and thou Rogue*.

The *Dissenters Love-Fit* to the *Bishops* is over, as soon as their *Work* is done—Till they have *Need* of them again!

In the same *Observer* he gives the *Character* of our *Country Clergy*, and the *Justices of Peace*; and makes them both vile *Sots* and *Beasts*. Then cries out, *There's your Magistrate and Parson, your Spiritual Guide and your Temporal Guide, both Drunk together*. He puts *Dr. Kennet* (his Name at full Length) among the *Billingsgate Rogues*, with the *Upper House of Conv—on*.

We see now whom they mean by the *High-Church*. Even all the *Church of England*, one and other! They have Invented this Name of *Distinction*, on Purpose to give themselves full Liberty to vent all their *Spleen*, unseen, as they think, against the whole *Church*, under the Title of the *High-Church*.

And that they may leave no Stone unturn'd, they recall the Times of *Forty one*. [Tho' they are very Angry with others who mention any thing of them, on the side of the *Church* or the *King*:] And their Chief *Malice* is spent upon those whom their *Cursed Hands* have *Mar-*

tyr'd, for their firm Adherence to the Church. They Triumph to this Day, in their *De-Collating* and *De-Truncating* K. Char. I. as the *Observer* before quoted Expresses his *Martyrdom*, with *Exultation* and *Contempt* of it!

And many *Observers* [Vol. 3. from N. 18. and so on to this Day June 10.] are spent upon that Great Pillar and Support of our Church, whose Blood they likewise Drunk, for that, and no other Reason, the Glorious Arch-Bishop *Laud*, whom they call a *Papist*, and a *Right Reverend Father* in *SATAN*, to shew the *Meekness* of their *Temper*, and their *Moderation*! And they tell you the great Reason, in *Observ. Num. 21.* That he Permitted and Countenanc'd a *Popish Hierarchy* or *Ecclesiastical Government* to be established in this Kingdom. This was one of the *Articles* then Exhibited against him. And we well know what they meant by a *Popish Hierarchy*, even the *Constitution of the Church of England*, which therefore they *Abolish'd*. And it is as Plain what they Mean by it now. For was there any other *Hierarchy* or *Ecclesiastical Government* in Arch-Bishop *Laud's* Time, than there is now? Or did he Exercise an Higher *Authority* over his *Fellow-Bishops*, or over the *Inferior Clergy* in *Convocation*, than is done now? Did he ever *Deprive* any *Bishop* by his own *single Authority*? That would have been more than even the *Pope of Rome* ever did. And might have been call'd a *Super-Papal Exaltation*! And if the *Hierarchy* of our Church was *Papal* in Arch-Bishop *Laud's* time, what is it now? If he was a *Father* in *Satan* for Supporting that *Hierarchy*, what are they who Support this? What will they be Call'd by Mr. *Observer*, whenever they shall happen to lose his *Good Graces*? Whose *Commendations* now, is the greatest *Scandal* they lie under!

If it be not *Demonstration*, that the whole *Hierarchy* of the Church of England is here Struck at, even as now Establish'd, I shall Despair of ever making any thing Plain.

And then we know the Meaning of their Calling out upon *Papists* and *High-flyers*, and whom they Describe by these *appellations*, even All who, as Bishop *Laud*, are for Supporting this *Hierarchy*.

They Re-print in these *Observators* the *Articles* exhibit-ed against Arch Bishop *Laud*. But take no Notice of the Noble *Defence* he made, which is Publick through the Nation. And there is no *Book* Extant, which shews more lively the Cursed *Spirit* of those times, in carrying on their *Cause* with the Blackest *Lyes* and Diabolical *Malice*.

Here you see the Effect of *Answering* these Men, and *Proving* even to *Demonstration*. They *Reply* nothing! Take no Notice of any *Answer*! But repeat their *Calumny's* and *Objections*, without End!

Arch-Bishop *Laud* having wrote against the *Church* of *Rome*, the best of any Man in his Age; And Sealing it in his *Dying* Words upon the *Scaffold*; and no one *Article* of *Popery*, or any *Tendency* that way, having ever been Prov'd against him, makes no Impression upon these *Saints*! It stops not their *Mouths*, tho' it must satisfy their *Consciences*! He was for the *Liturgy*, for the *Altar* to be *Rail'd* in, and other *Decencies* in our *Worship*, which are now Universal-ly *Practis'd* and *Establis'd* in the *Church* of *England*. Therefore he must be a *Papist*! And then they all are *Papists* who *Practise* these things, that is, all the *Church* of *England*. All who are not for Pulling down our *Altars*; Abolishing our *Liturgy*, and *Episcopacy* it self!

When the old *Cant* of *Forty One* is taken up again, we may be sure it is for the same *Ends*!

If this be not sufficient to *Awaken* all that are Concern'd for the *Church* of *England*, their *Sleep* is *Lethargick*; and her *Ruin* is *Nigh*!

As to the *Author* of the *Observer*, enough has been said before, and is sufficiently known, of his *Worthiness*! But there is no *Book* or *Paper* comes out, that is so much a *Party-Book*, and for which the whole *Faction* is so Answer-able:

able as this ; it being *Hugg'd* and *Cherish'd* by them All. And the *Author* Supported, in direct *Opposition* and *Contempt* of the *Government*. Which he *Ridicules*, *Threatens*, and *Laughs* at, the *Judges*, *Secretaries* of *State*, and All, for thinking to Reach him by *Law* ; Considering what a *Back* he has to stand by him !

III.
Of the
Secret Hi-
story.

We are now come to one, which, by what has yet Appear'd of it, is a *Party-Book* too, and a *Violent* one. The *Secret History* mention'd in the *New Association*. In Vindication of which this *Occasional Letter* spends several *Pages*. Before I enter upon it, I must tell the Reader; That the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* owns he has receiv'd, since that *Pamphlet* was Publish'd, an *Information* in *two Particulars* different from what is said or *Imply'd* there. The *first* is, That his Deceased Friend, who *Transcrib'd* that Part of the *History* which he saw, was not put under any *Restraint* or *Promise* of not *Transcribing* for himself, or any thing else of that Sort, as that *Author* was told ; occasioned, as he supposes, by that *Gentleman's* Refusing to give any *Copy* of it, as thinking himself under an *Imply'd* Obligation, tho' none was put upon him, as that *Author* is now satisfy'd from the Person who gave it him to *Copy*.

The other Point is, That the *Author* of the *Secret History* was so far against the *Bill* for *Excluding* the *Duke of York*, that he found Means of *Informing* his *Royal Highness*, very Early of that *Design* in Agitation against him ; and thereby came into his *Good Graces*. But that he Drove on with the *Faction* against him, at the same time, is Apparent from his *History* ; where he owns himself to have been for the *Bill*, and that he *Travell'd* much among *Noble-Men* in *Negotiation* of that *Affair*. That my Lord *Shaftsbury* was for a *Total Exclusion* ; but my Lord *Halifax* for a *Limited Power*. And the *Author* tells how he took Pains with my Lord *Halifax*, to bring him over to my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Opinion, but *in vain*. So that these

two *Parties* broke upon it. Then he tells of a *Project* he Contriv'd to Reconcile both *Parties*, which was to have a *Guardian Regent* set over the *King*, in Case he were a *Roman Catholick*. And he tells how this *Project* of his was *Generally Applauded by the whole Party*. But *Crush'd* by the *King*, and wou'd not Pass the *Parliament*.

Now the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* do's Confess, that when he wrote it, he did not know of the *Author* of the *Secret History's* being so Fast a *Friend* to the *Duke*, as to *Discover* to him the *Councils* of those who were *Plotting* against him. If he has *Forgot*, that *Author* says, Sir *J. B.* can Refresh his *Memory*, and tell whether the *Author* was rightly *Inform'd* or not.

Now let us see what is said, concerning that *History*. in this *Occasional Letter*.

First, the *MS. History* is Confess'd, That there is such an one; and the *Author* call'd an *Excellent Historian*, p. 14. And it is said of this his *Performance*, p. 15. That whenever his *History* shall see the *Light*, the *World* will see as great *Impartialities* in it, and find as many *Admirable and Instructive Passages* in it, as in any *Book* of its kind. By this we must suppose it was not the *Author* who wrote this *Defence* of it. Unless he strain'd upon his *Modesty*, as a *Blind*, that he might not be *Suspected*.

However, why shou'd so *Admirable* and *Instructive* a *Piece* be longer *Hid* from the *World*? Cannot this *Age* bear the *Truths* that are in it! If the *Reigns* of *K. Char. 2.* or *K. Jam. 2.* were not *Commodious* for its *Edition*, there has been a *Time* since, when for that Reason, it wou'd have been most *Acceptable*! And that wou'd have *Obviated* the *Objection* of its being kept up, till there shall be none *Alive*, who can *Contradict* it.

But if the *Whole* must not be *Publish'd*, Why are not those *Passages* set down, in the *Author's* own *Words*, which are Pretended, in this *Occasional Letter*, to have been *Falsly* quoted? Because, now I think of it, that is said

of never a *One* of them ; only in General of *All*. And not that they are *False* neither, but as it is said, p. 12. *Either false, or at best very grossly Mis-represented.* And he has Forgot to give any one *Instance*, even of that. But he says, p. 13. *And indeed every one of them that so much as bears a Resemblance to the Originals, happens to be falsely set down, and separated from what go's before and after, so that by the Unfair Recital, the thing is wholly misrepresented; as if one wou'd quote the Words of the Psalm, THERE IS NO GOD, without prefixing to them, THE FOOL HATH SAID IN HIS HEART.*

And what *Answer* wou'd you give to such an one? Wou'd it not be to set down the Words *omitted*; and to shew that they quite *Alter'd* the *Sense*? Cou'd there be any other *Answer*? And why then did you not give that *Answer*, as to the *History*? There was a *Reason*—— You say his *Quotations* are separated from what go's before and after. So I take it to be in all *Quotations*, unless you wou'd *Transcribe* a whole *Book*: But do's what go's before or after *Alter* any thing of the *Sense* of what is *Quoted*? That ought to have been shew'd. And we suppose *Wou'd*, if it *Cou'd*.

But that *Author* had another *Reason*, why he left out several things ; that is, Because there were several *Severe*, and he believes *Unjust Reflexions* cast upon Persons of *Honour*, and *Reputation*, of which he had no Mind to be the *Publisher*; nor will he do it now: But that you may not think he speaks at *Random*, he gives one *Instance*, with—— for the Name within the *History* is at length. The *Character* which the *History* gives of the *Cergy* in General is set down in the *New Association*, p. 23. That the *Author* of the *History*, thought ill of them all, till he saw Cause to think otherwise, as to any *Particular Person*. But he *Condescends* to name a *Reverend* and *Learned Divine* of the first *Figure*; now living, who, he says, *Is a man that has but Little knowledge in Divinity,*
and

and as little Sense of it ; and Describes him to be a Man much Addicted to Pleasures. And speaking of two Sermons Preach'd, before the House of Commons, the one by Himself, and the other by ——— He says, that his own Sermon had both the Applause and Thanks of the House. But says, of ——— his Sermon (who has the Reputation of as Ingenious a Man as any in England) That it was the worst Sermon that ever he heard him Preach, &c.

He confesses that some of the Quotations of the Secret History do Bear a Resemblance to the Originals. Why will he not show us this Resemblance ?

He says, That the Title of that Book is not a Secret History, but in Imitation of Thuanus, The History of his own Time. I suppose the Author of the New Assoc. did not call that A Secret History, as if it had been the Title which the Author gave it, but because it was kept Secret, as if he had said a Manuscript History. These are Material Objections !

As is that p. 14. where he lays such Load upon the Memory of the Deceas'd Gentleman who Transcrib'd part of that History, for Breach of Trust, &c. For besides what is said above of the Mistake in that Point ; What Breach of Trust was it in that Gentleman, if having Transcrib'd a Part for his own Satisfaction, and kept it Intirely to himself all his Life, it shou'd be found among his Papers when he was Dead ? This is Fishing for Objections, and Finding them to no Purpose !

But because the Author of the New Assoc. is accus'd of giving short Quotations, without Fore and After ; I having got a Sight of some Part of that Secret History, will give a Passage more at large out of it, which was wrought upon this Occasion. A Year or two before the design'd Assassination of the King, &c. at the Rye House, and the Overturning of Church and State, there came out as Preparatives, a Multitude of Treasonable, and Seditious Pamphlets against the Church and the Monarchy. The Bishops

and *Clergy* then, as vigilant *Watchmen*, saw the Danger that *Threaten'd*; and took Care that those *Poysonous Books* and *Pamphlets* shou'd be *Answered*; And from their *Pulpits* gave Warning to their *Flocks*, of the *Wolves* then *Stirring* among them; And Endeavour'd to *Fix* them in the *Principles* of their *Duty* to the *Church* and to the *Crown*; that they might not be *Debauch'd*, by these *Liers in Wait*, to their *Destruction* both of *Soul* and *Body*. And Minded them of what had been done by the same *Sett of Men*, upon the same *Principles* and *Pre-tences*, in the former *Reign*, yet Fresh in their *Memo-ries*. And the *Issue* shew'd, that there was sufficient Reason for all this *Caution*. For soon after follow'd the *Rye-House Conspiracy*, Prosecuted *Industriously* to the *Dissolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*. Now the *Secret History* (for so let us call it, till it is made *Publick*) takes Notice of these *Treasonable Books*, but calls them not so, only says they were against the *Church of England*; and takes no Pains to *Censure* them, or find any *Fault* with their *Authors*. But as to those who oppos'd them, he says (under that *Head of the Earl of Danby's Tryal*) in these words, *Many Books came out likewise against the Church of England. This Alarm'd the Bishops and Clergy much. So that they set up to Preach against Rebellion, and the late Times, in such a Strain that it was visible they meant a Parallel between these and the Present Time. And this produc'd at last that Heat and Rage into which the Clergy has run so far, that it is like to End very Fatally. They on their Part shou'd have shew'd more Temper, and more of the Spirit of the Gospel; Whereas, for the Greatest part they are the Worst-Natur'd, the Fiercest, Indiscreetest, and most Persecuting Sort of People that are in the Nation. There is a Sort of them do so Aspire to Preferment, that there is nothing so Mean and Indecent that they will not do to Compass it; And when they have got into Preferments, they take no Care neither of Themselves nor of their Flocks Committed to their Charge,*

but

but do generally Neglect their Parishes. If they are Rich enough, they Hire some pitiful Curate, at as Low a Price as they can, and Turn all over on him: Or if their Income will not Bear out that, they Perform the Publick Offices in the slightest Manner they can; but take no Care of their People in the way of Private Instruction or Admonition; and so do nothing to Justify the Character of Pastors or Watch-Men, that Feed the Souls of their People, or Watch over them. And they Allow themselves in many Indecent Liberties of going to Taverns and Ale-Houses; and of Railing Scurrilously against all that Differ from them; and they Cherish the Prophaneſs of their People, if they but come to Church, and Rail with them against the Dissenters; and are Implacably set on the Ruin of all that Separate from them, if the Course of their Lives were otherwise ever so Good and Unblamable. In a Word, many of them are a Reproach to Christianity and to their Profession; and are now perhaps one of the most Corrupt Bodies of Men in the Nation.

Thus *Verbatim* out of the *History*. Which I cannot let pass, without these *Observations*.

1. That *England* never saw before a more *Learned*, *Pious*, and *Eminent Clergy* than were at that *Time*, of which this *History* speaks.

2. That it is never to be expected but among so Great a *Body of Men*, there will be some who live not up to their *Profession*. But this *Accuser* of the *Brethren*, from the *Many*, and the *Generality*, and for the *Greatest Part*, draws his *Conclusion* against the whole *Body*, as the *most Corrupt Body of Men in the Nation*.

3. This was not meant as an *Admonition* to them, to *Amend* them. But left as a *Character* upon them for after *Ages*, when they were *Dead*, and could not *Justify* themselves.

4. He declares his *Insufficiency* to give a *Character* of the *Clergy*, from his own *Knowledge*; Because he makes it one of his great *Boasts*, that as he *Hated* and *Abhorr'd*

them; so he by all Means Avoided their *Conversation*. And gives this as one Reason why he *Refus'd* several Good *Living*s, which, he says, were offer'd to him, one Particularly in the *City*, of *Five hundred Pounds* per Annum, First, because he could not in *Conscience* take upon him so great a *Cure of Souls*. And if he thought *himself* not fit, surely he thought none *other*! And so none must take it. But in good *Conscience* such *Cures* must lie *Vacant*! But he had a *second* Reason, for he tells, *That the Temple in appearance being to fall Vacant at that Time, he was rather Desirous of that, and so much the Rather, that he was Averse to mingle himself with the CHURCH and CLERGY.* He kept better Company! Among *States-Men* and *Politicians*; and was very *Busy*, as he tells himself, in their *Plots* and *Contrivances* against the *Church* and the *Crown*; where he saw better *Examples of Christian Moderation, of Vertue and Sincerity*, than he Expected to find among the *Clergy*, but wou'd not *Try*! Only took their *Character* from the *Whigs* and *Dissenters*, with whom he *Plotted* their *Ruin*, and therefore *Avoided* their *Conversation*.

But why wou'd he take the *Temple*? Did he look upon that as a *fine Cure*, with which his *Tender Conscience* only cou'd Dispencc? Or did he think the *Lawyers* had no *Souls* worth taking *Care* of? But he thought them fitter Company for a *Politician*, than the *Dull - Unthinking - Divines*, who were Rooted in their *Slavish Principles* of *Jure Divino* and *Loyalty*, and had *Notions of Schism*, and such like *Fulsom Stuff*!

But if he thought it a *Sin*, to take the *Cure* of a *Parish*, how came his *Conscience* to Dispencc with a *Greater*? But it was in a better *Time*! When the *Clergy* were *Mended*!

However, how could so much *Tenderneß of Conscience* and *Charity*, as he pretends to think it no *Crime* to leave so *Black* and *Odious* a *Character* to *Posterity* of the *Church* his *Mother*, had she deserv'd it! But when the *Brightest* State of our *Church*, since the *Reformation*, is thus *represented*,

sented, what name shall we give it! And coming from a Person of *Figure* in it, and living in that time, what wou'd Hinder *foreign Churches* to *Believe* it; and our *Dissenters* at *Home* to make their own Use of it? For what other End can any Man Imagine it was put upon *Record* in this *History*; Which, contrary to the *Author's* Intention, has by a good Providence appear'd Time enough, to be *detected* and *disprov'd*?

But he makes Amends! And the *Church of England* shall not Suffer *Alone* under his *Characters*. For he says further, *And indeed when I Consider the General Corruption of the Clergy that has been now for many Ages over all Christendom, I know not where to lay the first Source and Spring of it.* That is strange! But it is not Hard to Guess the *Source* and *Spring* whence he had it, the *Virtuoso Clubs* of *Deists* and *Whig-Politicians*, where he Learn'd, that *Priests* of all Religions are the same! And to Pronounce aright the *Modish* word of *Priest-Craft*! Which is but of late Invention among us, I think *Dryden* the first, in his *Abalom* and *Achitophel*. But this *Historian* was the first, I believe, that ever brought it into the *Pulpit*; Crying out there *Stentorically*, and this——— is the *Source* and *Spring* of all the **PRIEST-CRAFT** in the *World*——— Which I Heard from him, to my *Astonishment*, in *St. James's Church*! And by the *Theatrical* Department, with which this *Priest-Craft* was Acted, one wou'd have been Tempted, to have thought himself at the *Play-House*!

But the *Source* and *Spring*, which in his *History* he Fixes upon as the *Common Cause* of the *Corruption* of the *Clergy*, is, *their too Great Livings*. And he wishes *they had a more Precarious Dependance upon their People, and that they were only to have their Gratuities and Benevolences, instead of a settled Living.* And this (says he) wou'd make them more *Strict* in their *Lives*, and more *Diligent* in the *Exercise* of their *Ministerial Function* and *Office*. Wou'd it not make them likewise more *Impartial* and *Couragious* in their *Discipline*

Discipline, to Inflict their *Spiritual Censures*, and bring to open *Penance*, or else, *Expel* out of the *Church* *Notorious Offenders*, tho' their *Chief Benefactors*, on whom they must *Depend* for their *Bread*! Wou'd it make them less *Creeping* and *Cringing* to the *Rich* and *Great* of their *Flocks*; and *Indulgent* to their *Vices*! And less *Inclin'd* to *Follow* a *Multitude* to do *Evil*! Whether wou'd it be a *Greater Ornament* and *Advantage* to their *Profession*, to be *Able* to *Feed* the *Poor* at their *Gates*, and do *Remarkable Acts* of *Charity*; or to be *Beggars* themselves, and *Prostitute* the *Dignity* of their *Office*, for a *Hand-full* of *Barley*, or a *Piece* of *Bread*! He may say, yes, if the *Clergy* wou'd *Employ* their *Riches* that way, as well as the *Laiety* do's; And were not, *The most Corrupt Body of Men in the Nation*! And yet, in that most *Corrupt* State of the *English Church*, which he do's Instance, in the *Reign* of *K. Char. 2.* he might have found, if he had been *Inclin'd* to have *Inquir'd* on that *Side*, That more *Acts* of *Publick Charity* and *Benefit* to the *Nation* were done by the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, in *Proportion* to their *Revenues*, than by 500 times as much that was in the *Hands* of the *Laiety*. And by one single *Bishop*, at one time, more than the *Saints* had done, with all the *Bishops-Lands* in *England*, during the many *Years* they had *Possess'd* them, on *Pre-^{ence}* of making *Better Use* of them!

But the *Notions* and *Schemes* of this *Historian* are taken from the *Regulars* and *Mendicants* of the *Church* of *Rome*, to which *Condition* he wou'd have our *Clergy* *Reduc'd*. And yet I will *Appeal* to *Himself*, Whether greater *Scandals* have arisen, even in the *Church* of *Rome*, from their *Rich Clergy*, or from these *Begging* and *Strouling Fryars*, who set up for *Abstraction*, and *Flights* of *Devotion* beyond the *Secular Clergy*, and all other *Men*!

I know not how to *Reconcile* this *Historian's Principles* with his *Practice*, but by supposing he meant, that all the *Clergy* should be *Poor*, except *Himself*! Why else wou'd

wou'd he take one of the *Richest Preferments* in England? But he thought he cou'd make *Good Use* of it!

The *Wisdom* of God foresaw the *Consequences* of having his *Priests* depend *Precariously* on the *People*, for their *Subsistence*. Therefore he gave them His own *Inheritance*. And made it *Sacrilege* to *Invade* it. And it was much more in *Proportion*, than belong'd to any other of the *Tribes*.

The *Apostles* were *Indow'd* with the *Gift* of *Miracles*, which *Render'd* them *Greatly Respected*.

But in the *Common State* of things, to have the *Clergy* made *Poor*, is to *Render* their *Office*, as well as *Themselves* **CONTEMPTIBLE**. And lays them open to *Greater Temptations*, than if they had a *Settled* and *Comfortable Subsistence*. He may as well expect *Manna*, when we have the *Fruits* of the *Ground*; as that *Reverence* to the *Poor Clergy*, which was in the *Age* of *Miracles*.

Some *Men* who have already *Gain'd*, by a long *Traße* of their *Life*, a *Great Reputation* for *Piety*, may, when *Reduc'd* to *Poverty*, Especially if *Suffering* for a *Good Cause*, meet with *Respect* from some *Sort* of *People*; but not the more, when they grow a *Burden* to them; they wou'd be willing their *Neighbours* shou'd have a *Share*! They might *Travel* like *Charity*, nothing worse *entertain'd*, or better *Recommended*!

But what is all this to the *Generality*? What shall the *Poor* young *Clergy* do, till they have *Gain'd* such a *Stock* of *Reputation*? That must take up a *Great Part* of their *Life*. And may they not be *Tempted* to *Marry* Folks *Privately*, and other *Irregularities*, for a little *Spell* of *Money*, when they have never a *Penny* in their *Pockets*? Or to *Pleaze* a *Good Benefactor*, upon whom they *Live*?

And yet, after all, to make a *Summary Conclusion*, upon the whole *Matter*, notwithstanding all these *Disadvantages*, let us make this *Experiment*, to take any *Number* of *Clergy-Men*, without *Picking* or *Choosing*, just as they lie; Suppose

pose thro' any two or three Streets in London; and take an equal Number of the Laity, within that Compass, without Picking or Choosing likewise; Suppose the Masters of so many Houses, next to each Church, or at either Ends of the Streets, or the first you meet with by Chance; and then see whether in that equal Number of Clergy and Laity, you will find most Men of Sobriety and Vertue? I doubt not but upon such a Tryal, the Clergy, not only in England, but all the World over, wou'd be found to have the Advantage by a Great Majority.

A Blot is sooner seen in a Gown, than in another Man. And there are several Liberties which Lay-Men Allow themselves, which wou'd give Great Offence in a Clergy-Man. This shews, that as they are under Stricter Rules, so that their Lives are more Strict.

This makes likewise a Corrupt Clergy-Man to be the Worst of Men. The Corruption of the Best things is the Worst. A Corrupt Angel is a Devil, and a Corrupt Priest is next to him in Wickedness.

And there is no more Sense in the word Priest-Craft, than in that of Angel Craft: It is no more Reflection upon Priests, than upon Angels. But it is a Superlative Degree of the Black-Angel-Craft to delight in Lyes, and give false Representations, thereby to Deceive the People, and Lead the Blind out of their Way.

And from what has been before-quoted out of this Secret History, I leave the Reader to Judge whether any did ever better Deserve the Title of the Accuser of the Brethren!

Of which I cou'd give further Instances, if I were not Afraid to Tire the Reader, who, I suppose, will think what has been said is Sufficient for that Purpose.

Yet I will venture upon his Patience, to mention one Particular more, and so have done.

It is the Relation given in this *Secret History* of the *The Assas-*
Murder of the Lord Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews in Scot- *sination of*
land, by the Presbyterians there, May 3. 1679. of which *the Lord*
this History says, one of them Fir'd a Pistol at him, which *Arch-Bi-*
burnt his Coat and Gown, but the Shot did not go into his *shop of St.*
Body. *Andrews.*

For what End this is told you shall see presently. But first, for the Falshood of it, I refer to the *Certificate* of the *Doctor of Physick and three Chirurgeons*, who, by Order of the *Privy-Council in Scotland*, did View and Embalm the *Body* of the *Lord Arch-Bishop*, which is upon Record in the *Council Books*, and inserted in the *Spirit of Popery speaking out of the mouths of Phanatical Protestants*. p. 58. Printed for *Walter Kettleby* at the *Bishop's Heads* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. 1680. where likewise is told the Reason why this *Lye* was Propagated by the *Party*, viz. to Countenance another *Diabolical Invention* of theirs, which they gave about, That the *Arch-Bishop* was a *Wizard*, and had Purchas'd a *Magical Spell* from the *Devil*, to keep him Shot-free.

They were not failing in their *Industry* (they never are) to carry on their *Lyes*, but, as told *ibid.* p. 55. they Publish'd a *Scandalous and Lying Narrative* concerning the *Death* of the *Arch-Bishop*; and their *Party* in *London* spread their *Reports* with their usual Assurance. And on the *Margin* are quoted in particular by *Dr. J. and Dr. B.* This was Publish'd presently after the *Assassination*. And in Answer to it, a *True Account* of that *Horrid Murder* was Publish'd by *Authority*, the same Year 1679. Printed at *London* for *Andrew Forrester* in *King-street, Westminster*. But this not Stopping their *Font-Mouths*, another *Narrative*, drawn out of the *Records* of the *Privy Council* of *Scotland*, and from the *Depositions* of many *Witnesses examin'd upon Oath* before the *Honourable Board*, &c. was annex'd to the *Spirit of Popery*, the next Year 1680. Which

has since *Silenc'd* their *Clamours*. Being undeniable Matter of Fact. But their *Malice* is not Conquer'd.

For here is an *History* provided, which is Design'd to be kept *Secret*, till these *Proofs* may be forgotten; and his *Account* of *Persons* and *Things* be taken for *Truth*! And thus he Represents those Passages; after saying, That *the Shot did not go into his Body*, he adds, upon which a Report was afterwards spread, that he had Purchas'd a *Magical Secret* for Securing him against Shot. And his *Murderers* gave it out that there were very *Suspicious* things found in a Purse about him. But who found that Purse? His *Assassins* did not Rob him, nor stay'd to Search him. But having Perform'd their *Murdering Work*, Rid away with what *Hast* they cou'd. The *Historian* adds (for I will do him all the Right I can) *But it was no wonder to find those that Murder'd his Person endeavour to Blacken his Reputation*. But did this *Historian* say any thing to Justify his *Reputation*? No. But having Positively *Asserted* the *Lye*, upon which this *Slander* was founded; he left it to Shift for it self. Let *Slander* Run——— But he Pursues him with a *Stroke* more Barbarous than any the *Assassins* gave him, and says; *He* (the Arch-Bishop) *begg'd his Life in a very abject Manner of them, and was in great Disorder*. The Contrary of which appears in the *Narrative* last quoted. No Man cou'd shew a more *Christian Courage* and *Resolution*. He gave them Caution of *Shedding Innocent Blood*. And when he saw they were Resolv'd to *Murder*, he pray'd them to spare his *Daughter*, who was with him in the *Coach*; and to give him a small Space of Time to Recommend his *Soul* to *God*. Which they Refus'd, saying, *God wou'd not hear the Prayers of such a Dog*. And Cut and Mangled his *Hands*, while he held them up in *Prayer*, even for *Them*, that *God* wou'd *Forgive* them. Which were the *Last Words* he utter'd, while they were *Hacking* and *Hewing* of him. No *History* since *St. Stephen* can shew a Greater Example of *Composure* of *Mind*, and true *Christian*

Magna-

Magnanimity, under so Suddain and Cruel a *Martyrdom*. For so no doubt it was, in a *Bishop* being *Massacred* by *Schismatical Zealots*, for no other Reason, but their *Good Old Cause*. And the *Zealots* of that *Cause* do still think that this was no *Murder*, but a *Glorious Asserting* of the *Cause of God*, as they *Blasphemously* call'd it ! And it is told in the *Narrat.* p. 65. That *five of their Accomplices, Complotters and Abbetters of the Murder, chose to Die, and be Hung-up in Chains upon the Place, rather than Confess the Sinfulness of the Action, by Acknowledging it was Murder, or a Sin.* And these *Assassins* were made *Chief Commanders* in their *Army*, which they Rais'd presently after this *Massacre* of the *Arch-Bishop* and *Primate of Scotland*, and March'd to *Bothwell-Bridge*, where they *Fought* it out, in open *Rebellion* against the *King*.

But this *Secret Historian* gives a *Stroak* to *Excuse* the *Party*, and in a *Great Measure* the *Russians* themselves from the *Heinousness* of this *Murder*, as if it were done by *Chance* only, and a *suddain Heat*. He says, *Some of them have since given it out, that they had not Resolved on doing this any time before, but seeing his Coach appear alone in the Moor, they took their Resolution all on the sudden.* The *Falshood* of this he cou'd not but know, if he took the least *Pains* to *Search* the *Records* of the *Council* [And he loves to *Search Records*] or had ever *Read* any of the *Narratives* before mentioned, which were then very *Publick*, and wherein he himself was *Concern'd*. For there the *Design*, and *Concerting* of it is *Evidently* made appear *Besides* the pretty *Probability*; that so many *Men*, living at *Distant Places*, shou'd happen to *Meet*, in a wild *Moor* or *Heath*, so *Arm'd* with *Pistols, Blunderbusses, &c.* and just at that *Nick* of time that his *Grace's Coach* pass'd through ; or cou'd have taken such a *Resolution*, on such a *Sudden*, which wou'd have *Astonish'd* any *Man* who had the least *Drashm* of *Christianity*, or *Common Humanity* !

But all these things notwithstanding, this *Author* sets down the *Suggestion*, without any *Confutation*, he Guess'd it wou'd take with some !

And he *Charitably* Concludes, *This was the Dismal Fate of that Unhappy Man, who certainly needed a little more time to have fitted him for an Unchangeable State. But I wou'd fain hope that he had all his Punishment in that terrible Conclusion of his Life*

This is his *Celebration* of the *Memoirs* of a *Martyr* for *Episcopacy* ! For other *Crime* the worst of his *Enemies* cannot *Object* against him. Nor did his *Murderers* object any other, when they *Revil'd* him, and told him why they *Kill'd* him, for being an *Apostate*. For he was a *Convert* from *Presbytery*; and, as they said, for the sake of a *Bishoprick*.

And so they say of *Others*. Yet they are not *Angry* with them, tho' they have been *Converted*, and *Re-Converted*, and *Converted* over again !

The Reason is, That *Sharp* (as this *Historian* Respectively calls the *Lord Primate*, for that was his Name) after he Profess'd *Episcopacy*, was *True* to it, and to that *Church* in which he took so High a *Station*. He did not *Revile* and *Bespatter* her *Bishops* and *Clergy*, and Represent them as *the vilest Set of Men in the Nation* ! And gives the most *Malicious*, *False* and *Scandalous* Accounts of them ! He came among them as a *True Convert* and a *Friend*, not as a *Spy*, to *Betray* and *Undermine* them, to do them more *Mischief* than 100 open *Enemies* !

From the *Relation* here given the *Martyrdom* of the Great Arch-Bishop, and the *Handsom Turns* in *Alleviation* of the *Fanatical Rage* which Murder'd him; other Men who have been *Faithful* to the *Church* and to the *Crown*, may *Imagine* how they may be Represented to *Posterity*; if this *Secret History* be not *seen* and *Corrected* in time, or else totally *Suppress'd*.

But by what I have seen of it, to *Correct* it, would be to *Alter* the *Whole*. For upon every little *Circumstance* his *Byass* is visible against the *King* and the *Clergy*. Telling of the *Dissolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*, he says, *That the King came to the Parliament in a very undecent Manner, being Carry'd in a Chair to the House of Lords, with the Crown between his Legs, and having sent for the House of Commons, he Pull'd it out from thence, and put it upon his Head, and so Dissolv'd the Parliament.* This was utterly *False in Fact*. For the *Regalia* were carry'd by the *King's* Servants and Guards to the Room, where his Majesty Rob'd himself before he went in to the *House of Lords*. But this Senseless Story was Rais'd by the *Faction*, in *Ridicule* of the *King*; and so Ease their *Spleen*, for the *Brisk Disappointment* he gave to their *Plot*, just upon the Point of *Execution*. And this *Historian* Chimes in with them, in this, as in every thing else.

Upon this Juncture the *King* Issued a *Declaration*, giving the Extraordinary Reasons which Mov'd him to *Dissolve* the *Parliament*. Which Produc'd very Loyal *Addresses* from all Parts of the *Kingdom* to his Majesty, *Signifying their Resolution to stand by the King, and the Hereditary Succession in the true Line.* These *Addresses* the *Historian* calls *Fulsom Stuff* (a mighty *Word* with him) and falls severely upon the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, as the *Contrivers* or *Pen-Men* of them. Calls them the *King's Heralds*, in *Contempt*, and spends his *Rhetorick* to shew how little it Became them. And upon this, as upon every other Occasion, he Repeats his *Accusation* of their *Loose Lives*, and that *their Business was to Drink the Duke's Health, &c.* He says of himself, *That after the Dissolution of this Parliament (it was a fore Mortification to all the Whigs) he did betake himself to a more strict Course of Life, than he had formerly accusom'd himself to. That he had formerly been too much Elevated and Carry'd away with the Applauses of Men; and had been given to a Looseness in his Life; which he would*
for

for the time to come Remember with sorrow of Heart. That he gave himself then to Fasting and Prayer, and doubted not but the Fruits of it wou'd ever Remain with him. That it had made him more Humble, more Watchful, and more Charitable to the Failings of others, &c.

Flaming Charity indeed, as we have seen! He was there in the Dumps, upon the King's Vigorous and Unexpected Defeating of the Conspiracy framed to have seiz'd his Majesty, &c. Which puts them all to their Prayers!

*Ægrotat Dæmon, Monachus
tunc esse volebat.*

But having Recover'd their Wicked Spirits in a little time,

Dæmon ut Ante fuit.

They fell to their old Trade of Plotting, Lying, Defaming, &c,

How is it possible a Man shou'd Know himself so little, as that he shou'd talk at this Sanctify'd Rate, and perhaps Believe himself, while he was passing the most Un-Charitable Censures at least, if they had not been False, upon the Lives of other Men; and upon their Death too, as of the Arch-Bishop before Mention'd! Was this being Charitable to the Failings of Others? He ought not to Insult over the Death of Another; who knows not the Manner in which his own End may be. I wish he may have more time for Preparation, whenever that Day comes than was Allow'd to that Martyr'd Bishop. All Men are not Equally Fitted for a Suddain Death. And as a Preparation in time, I wou'd earnestly Recommend to him, to Consider seriously, and Repent of the Hard Speeches he has Utter'd against his Brethren; and not to Flatter himself, that he is Humble, and Watchful, and Charitable, while he gives such Characters of Men; not to Amend them, or Prevent Evils he Apprehends they have

Have in *Design*; which wou'd make it *Charitable* indeed, and *Necessary*, to give others *Warning* of them, not to be *Seduc'd* by them; and in such *Case*, ought to be *Press'd* home, as far as *Truth* will *Carry* it; But where none of these *Ends* can be serv'd by it, but only to leave a *Stigmatizing* Mark upon their *Memories* to *Posterity*, and of the *Church* with them; This is far from *Charity*, and looks liker the *Gratification* of *Spleen* and *Resentment*, and an *Imbitter'd* Mind. *Reason* wou'd Suggest this.

But the *Spirit* of *Enthusiasm* puts out the *Eye* of *Reason*. And *Destroys* the *Sobriety* of *Religion*. Leaves a Man no *Principle* or *Rule*, but that of *Imagination* and *Impulses*. Can make him *Believe* that he is in the *Exaltation* of *Charity*, while he is in the very *Gall* of *Bitterness*; and *Delighting* himself in the *Sin* of *Ham*. He is not *Afraid* to *Speak* *Evil* of *Dignities*, to *Revile* and *Bespatter* both *Church* and *State*, to *Expose* the *Nakedness* of *Father* and *Mother*; And can *Persuade* himself, That all this is out of an *High Sense*, and *Zeal* to the *Glory* of *God*! This can *Sanctifie* *Schism* and *Rebellion* in his *Eyes*! And in short, he can do no *Evil*, because he thinks *Every* thing that he do's to be *Good*; for he has an *Impulse* for it! He *Imitates* Nothing of the *Apostles*, but their *Miracles*! Turns *Religion* into *Romance*, and will do Nothing *Ordinary*! He keeps Himself in a *Sphere* Above other *Mortals*; Whence he *Looks* down upon them with *Disdain*, which he *Calls* *Pity*! His own *Infirmities*, if he sees any in Himself, he *calls* *Human Frailties*; But all others *Offend* of *Malicious Wickedness*! He is of all Men the most *Impatient* of *Contradiction*, or any *Reflection* upon his *Reputation*; And yet he *Seeketh* not *Honour* of *Men*! And thinks Himself an *Hoiy* and *Humble* Man of *Heart*! He is all made up of *Contradictions*! *Proud* in his *Humility*! *Meek* in his *Rage*! *Charitable* in *Railing*! *Zealous* in *Lying*! *Patient* in his *Revenge*! For *Unity* in *Schism*! And *Royal* in his *Rebellion*!

IV.

The Character of an Enthusiast.

He

He knows nothing *Truly*! And *Himself* Least of all! An *Hypocrite* to Himself! He is every thing but what he is! He is *Proof* against *Reason*! There is no *Method* with him, but *Exorcism*! And now I think it is *Time* to have done with him.

I have one *Word* more to the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, which is, That he wou'd Advise his *Friend* to Publish his *Excellent History*, rather than have it come out upon him by *Piece-meal*. For I can Assure him, there are several other *Passages* in what is *Trans-scrib'd*, of the like *Strain* with those that are *quoted*; which are *Forc'd* out by your *Objections*, one or two at a time; to see if that may *Prevent* the Rest, by obliging the *Author* to *Re-view* his *History*, and *Correct* the *Remainder*; And then to *Publish* it, or else, to *Burn* it; that it may not do *Mischief* in *After Times*. If the Last be not his *Resolution*, It may then be thought *Requisite* to Publish what is forth-coming of it, with *Necessary Remarks*, in *Vindication* of *Truth*, of the *Church*, and those *Reigns* and *Persons* which are *Aspers'd*. And as to the *Probity* and *Honesty* of the *Trans-scriber*, there are *Vouchers* as many as knew him. And for his *Hand*, there are several can *Swear* to it (of which I am one) He likewise made large *Remarks* upon that Part of the *History* which he *Trans-scrib'd* all *Wrote* in his own *Hand*. Which, when Publish'd, may help to *Ease* the *Author* of that *Temptation* he said lay so hard upon him, the *Applauses* of Men!

Among these *Remarks* there is one (which I will not Repeat) upon a *Passage* in that *History*, which the *Author* ought to *Clear* up, because, however he meant it, it may pass hereafter as a *Reflection* on the *Memory* of *K. W.* He writes that at the time of the *Bill of Exclusion* against the *Duke of York*, the *Prince of Orange* gave *Instructions* to Mein Heir ——— *Fagell* [to the best of my Remembrance] who was sent by the *States of Holland* to *K. Char. 2.* That he shou'd Deal with some *Members* of the

the *House of Commons*, to Promote the Passing of that *Bill*. If this was meant a *Complement* to his *Highness*, to shew his *Early Zeal*, and sharp *Fore-sight* of *Poper*y, I cannot tell. But others may put other *Constructions* upon this under-hand *Attempt* against his *Father*, if it was *True*. However it shews the *Author* to have been at the *Bottom* of the *Secrets* from the *Beginning*, or that he wou'd be thought so to have been; even at that time when, being *Proscrib'd* his *Country*, not for *Building* of *Churches*, he sent from *Holland* those *Letters* (often quoted) full of *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience*. And, as the *Remarker* observes, and gives good Reason to Believe, he who owns himself so Great a *Manager* in the *Bill of Exclusion* (tho' he *Discovered* so much of it to the *Duke*, as to Secure himself on that Side too) and in the *Secrets* of that *Party*, more than even *Carstares* himself, was not *Ignorant* of the *Train* of their *Designs*, at the *Rye-House* it self, and at the *Oxford Parliament*, &c. And having been so *Signally Instrumental* in the *Revolution*, and as himself gives us to Understand, *Entrusted* with the *Secret* all along from the *Bill of Exclusion*, he might *Modestly* have expected not to see *Two*, who came in at the *Eleventh Hour*, put over his Head, who had *Born* the *Burden* and *Heat* of the *Day*. And if he *Blabb'd* this *Secret* of the *Pr. of Orange*, or *Invented* it, he was sufficiently *Reveng'd* of that old *Proverb*, to *Love* the *Treason*, but *Hate* the *Tr*——

Upon the *Whole* that has been said, in this and the former *Part*, let us come to a *Conclusion*.

The *Bill* concerning *Occasional Conformity* has been the Great *Bone of Debate*, and Subject of a Multitude of *Pamphlets*. As to the *Argument*, there is nothing in it. Nor is it *Pleaded* upon any other Account than that of *Places*. So that the whole *Dispute* is about *Power*. Whether that is to be *Trusted* into the *Hands* of *Dissenters*? And it is not *doubted* but that it is *Extremely dangerous* both to the

v.
Conclusion
upon the
Bill of Occasional
Conformity.

Church, and to the *Government*; from what the *Dissenters* have formerly done, and the same *Principles* which they still *Maintain*. Besides the Natural Desire of *Power*, which is common to all *Parties*; for which of them wou'd not have the *Whole* in their own Hands, if they cou'd? All *Arguments* against this are *Trifling*.

But the *Considerations* which threw this *Bill* out of the *House of Lords*, were the *Unseasonableness* of it at this Time of *War*; And the Necessity therefore of *Unity* among our selves.

As to the first, if the *Dissenters* think this Time of *War* the Fittest for their *Struggling* to get into *Power*. Is it not as Incumbent upon the *Church* and the *Government* to *Secure* themselves? It may be too *Late* afterwards. If *Part* of a *Garison* are *Struggling* for the *Power*, against the *Governour* and the *Officers* whom he *Employs*, his first work must be [tho' the *City* be *Besieg'd*, and the Rather for that] to *Secure* his *Government*, and *Affert* his *Authority*; else, he may be *Thrown* over the *Walls* to his *Enemies*; and all the *Party* *Sacrific'd* who are *Faithful* to him. And the *Putting* the *Mutineers* into the *Posts* they *Desir'd*, wou'd *Strengthen* them against him, and *Double* his *Danger*. Especially if there were *Another*, whom they wou'd Rather have *Governour* than him, and he near at hand to be *Call'd*.

And as to the Point of *Unity*, it is very *Difficult* to *Adjust* it betwixt *Parties* that *Contend* for *Power*. And if the *Church* or the *Dissenters* must be *Disoblig'd*, it shou'd not seem hard to *Determine* which of them it shou'd be. Unless that *Notion* still *Prevails* of *Trusting* to the *Passive-Obedience-Doltrine* of the *Church*! And whether the *Lords* *Rejecting* that *Bill* has *Produc'd* the *desir'd* *Unity* betwixt the *Two Houses*, and consequently betwixt the *Contending Parties* through the *Kingdom*? I leave it to *Time* to *Determine* more fully; and whether it will *Prevent* the like *Bill* coming in *Again* next *Session*? And if it *Miscarry* again, Whether

ther that will likely *Heal* or *Heighten* the *Animosities*? But let it be Remember'd, That the *Rejecting* this *Bill* gave the first *Occasion*.

There was a *Politick* once mightily Cry'd out upon, which seems now more *Convenient* to some *People*, that is, to *Gratify* your *Enemies*, for your *Friends* will be your *Friends* still!

But, besides the *Justice* and *Generosity* of such a *Principle*! I believe *Experience* has since *Convinc'd* us, that

It is much Easier to LOSE a FRIEND, than to GAIN an ENEMY.

And that where there is a *Competition*, it is *Impossible* to *Please* Both. It will more *Certainly Lose* Both. For *Jealousie* has *Hawk's-Eyes*.

It has Prov'd a very *Falſe Maxim* in *Politicks*,

Two STRINGS to your BOW.

For,

Such a BOW never Shoots TRUE.

F I N I S

Coronat Opus.

PLATE

General Opre

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 Numb. 1.

A

DECLARATION

BY THE

KING's MAJESTY,

To his Subjects of the Kingdoms of *Scotland, England*
and *Ireland*; Printed at *Edinburgh*, 1650.

HIS Majesty taking in Consideration, that Merciful Dispensation of Divine Providence, by which he hath been recovered out of the Snare of Evil Council; and having attained so full Persuasion and Confidence of the Loyalty of his People in Scotland, with whom he hath too long stood at a distance, and of the Righteousness of their Cause, as to join in one Covenant with them, and to cast himself and his Interests wholly upon God, and in all Matters Civil to follow the Advice of his Parliament, and such as shall be intrusted by them; and in all Matters Ecclesiastick, the Advice of the General Assembly and their Commissioners; and being sensible of his Duty to God, and desirous to approve himself to the Consciences of all his good Subjects, and to stop the Mouths of his and their Enemies, and Traudneers, doth, in Reference to his former Deportments, and as to his Resolutions for the future, Declare as follows.

Though his Majesty, as a Dutiful Son, be obliged to Honour the Memory of his Royal Father, and have in Estimation the Person of his Mother. Yet doth he de-
 are

fire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in Spirit, before
 God, because of his Father's hearkning to, and following
 Evil Counsels; and his opposition to the Work of
 Reformation; and to the solemn League and Covenant, by
 which so much of the Blood of the Lord's People hath been
 shed in these Kingdoms; and for the Idolatry of his
 Mother; the Toleration whereof in the King's House,
 as it was Matter of great stumbling to all the Prote-
 stant Churches; so could it not but be an high Provo-
 cation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the Sins of the
 Fathers upon the Children; albeit his Majesty might Exte-
 nuate his former Carriages and Actions, in following
 of the Advice, and walking in the way of those who
 who are opposite to the Covenant and to the work of God,
 and might excuse his delaying, to give satisfaction to
 the just and necessary Desires of the Kirk and King-
 dom of Scotland, from his Education, and Age, and E-
 vil Council, and Compaup; and from the strange and
 insolent Proceedings of Secaries against his Royal Fa-
 ther; and in reference to Religion and the Antient Go-
 vernment of the Kingdom of England, to which he hath
 the undoubted Right of Succession. Yet knowing that
 he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuously acknow-
 ledge all his own Sins: and all the Sins of his Fa-
 ther's House; craving Pardon, and hoping for Mercy
 and Reconciliation through the Blood of Jesus Christ.
 And as he doth value the Constant Addresses that were
 made by his People to the Throne of Grace on his be-
 half, when he stood in opposition to the Work of God, as
 a singular Testimony of long Suffering, Patience and
 Mercy upon the Lord's part; and Loyalty upon theirs;
 so doth he hope, and shall take it as one of the greatest
 Tokens of their Love and Affection to him, and to his
 Government. That they will continue in Prayer and
 Supplication to God for him; That the Lord who spa-
 red and preserved him to this Day, notwithstanding of
 all his own Guiltiness, may be at Peace with him,
 and give him to fear the Lord his God, and to serve
 him with a Perfect Heart, and with a willing Mind all
 the Days of his Life.

And his Majesty having upon full persuasion of the Justice and Equity of all the Heads and Articles thereof, now Sworn and Subscribed the National Covenant of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, Doth Declare that he hath not Sworn and Subscribed these Covenants, and entered into the Oath of God with his People, upon any Sinister Intention or Crooked Design for attaining his own Ends, but so far as humane weakness will permit, in the Truth and Sincerity of his Heart, and that he is firmly resolv'd in the Lords strength to adhere thereto, and to Prosecute to the utmost of his Power, all the Ends thereof, in his Station and Calling, Keally, Constantly and Sincerely all the Days of his Life: In order to which he doth in the first place Profess and Declare, That he will have no Enemies but the Enemies of the Covenant, and that he will have no friends but the friends of the Covenant. And therefore as he does now Detest and Abhor all Popery, Superstition and Idolatry; together with Preach and all Errors, Heresie, Schism and Profaness; and resolves not to Tolerate, much less Allow any of these, in any part of his Majesty's Dominions; but to oppose himself thereto, and to endeavour the Extermination thereof to the utmost of his Power; so doth he as a Christian Exhort, and as a King require, That all such of his Subjects who have stood in Opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and work of Reformation, upon a pretence of Kingly Interest, or any other Pretext whatsoever, to lay down their Enmity against the Cause and People of God, and to cease to prefer the Interests of Man to the Interest of God; which hath been one of these things which hath occasioned many Troubles and Calamities in these Kingdoms, and being insisted into, will be so far from Establishing the King's Throne, that it will prove an Idol of Jealousie to provoke into Wrath him who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. The King shall always Esteem them best Servants, and most Loyal Subjects, who serve him, and seek his Greatness in a Line of Subordination

dination unto God; Giving unto God the things that are Gods, and unto Cesar the things that are Cesars; and resolveth not to Love or Countenance any who have so little Conscience and Piety as to follow his Interests with a Prejudice to the Gospel and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ; which he looks not upon as a Duty, but as flattering and driving of Self-Designs, under a pretence of Maintaining the Royal Authority and Greatness. Secondly, His Majesty being convinced in Conscience of exceeding great Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of that Treaty and Peace made with the Bloody Irish Rebels, who treacherously shed the Blood of so many of his faithful and Loyal Subjects in Ireland, and of allowing unto them the Liberty of Popish Religion; for the which he doth from his Heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord, and likewise considering how many Breaches have ben upon their Part, doth Declare the same to be Void, and that his Majesty is absolv'd therefrom, being truly sorry that he should have sought unto so unlawful help for Restoring of him to the Throne, and resolving for the time to come, rather to chuse Abaication than Sin. Thirdly, As his Majesty did in the late Treaty with his People in this Kingdom, agree to Recall and Annull all Commissions against any of his Subjects, who did adhere to the Covenant and Monarchical Government in any of his Kingdoms: So doth he now Declare by Commissionating of some Persons by Sea against the People of England; he did not intend Damage or Injury to his oppressed and harmless Subjects in that Kingdom, who follow their Trade of Merchandize in their Lawful Callings; but only the Opposing and Suppressing of those who had usurpt the Government, and not only haze him from his just Right, but also Exercise an Arbitrary Power over his People, in those things which concern their Persons Consciences and Estates: And as since his coming into Scotland he hath given no Commission against any of his Subjects in England or Ireland; so he doth hereby Assure and Declare that he will give none to their Prejudice or Damage, and whatever shall be the Wrongs of these Usurpers, that he will be so far from Avenging these upon

upon any who are free thereof by interrupting or stopping the Liberty of Trade and Merchandize, or otherwise, That he will seek their good, and to the utmost Employ his Royal Power, that they may be protected and defended against the unjust Violence of all Men whatsoever. And albeit his Majesty desires to Consider well of the Intentions of these (in reference to his Majesty) who have been active in Council or Arms against the Covenant, yet being convinced that it doth Conduce for the Honour of God, the good of his Cause, and his own Honour and Happiness, and for the Peace and Safety of these Kingdoms, That such be not Employed in Places of Power and Trust. He doth Declare that he will not Employ nor give Commission to any such, until they have not only taken or renewed the Covenant, but also have given sufficient Evidences of their Integrity, Carriage or Affection to the work of Reformation, and shall be Declared capable of Trust, by the Parliament of either Kingdom Respective: And his Majesty upon the same Grounds doth hereby Recall all Commissions given to any such Persons; conceiving all such Persons will so much tender a good Understanding betwixt him and his Subjects, and the Settling and Preserving a firm Peace in these Kingdoms, That they will not Grudge nor Repine at his Majesty's Resolutions, and Proceedings therein, much less upon Discontent, At any thing in a divided way unto the raising of new Troubles; especially, since upon their Pious and God Devoutment, there is a Kingdom left unto them in manner above express.

And as his Majesty hath given Satisfaction to the just and necessary Desires of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland, so doth he hereby Assure and Declare that he is no less willing and desirous to give Satisfaction to the just and necessary Desires of his good Subjects in England and Ireland; and in Token thereof, if the Houses of Parliament in England, sitting in Freedom, shall think fit to present to him the Propositions of Peace agreed upon by both Kingdoms, he will not only Accord to the same, and such Alterations thereon meant as the Houses of Parli-
ment,

ment, in regard of the Constitution of Affairs, and the
 God of his Majesty's and his Kingdoms shall judge
 necessary, but do what is further necessary for Prosecut-
 ing the Ends of the Solemn League and Covenant; es-
 pecially in those things which concern the Reformation
 of the Church of England; in Doctrine, Worship, Disci-
 pline and Government. That not only the Directory of
 Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechism; but also
 the Propositions and Directory for Church Government,
 Recorded upon by the Synod of Divines at Westminster
 may be settled; and that the Church of England may en-
 joy the full Liberty and Freedom of all Assemblies, and
 Power of Kirk Censures, and of all the Ordinances of
 Jesus Christ, according to the Rule of his own Word,
 and that whatsoever is commanded by the God of Hea-
 ven may be diligently done for the House of the God of
 Heaven; and whatever heretofore hath been the Suggest-
 ions of some to him, to render his Majesty jealous of
 his Parliament, and of the Servants of God; yet as
 he hath Declared, That in Scotland he will hearken to
 their Council, and follow their Advice in those things
 that concern that Kingdom and Kirk; So doth he also
 Declare his firm Resolution to Manage the Government
 of the Kingdom of England by the Advice of his Parlia-
 ment, consisting of an House of Lords, and an House of
 Commons there, and in those things that concern Reli-
 gion to prefer the Councils of the Ministers of the Gos-
 pel to all other Councils whatsoever. And that all the
 World may see how much he tenders the Safety of his
 People, and how precious their Blood is in his Sight,
 and how desirous he is to recover his Crown and Govern-
 ment in England by Peaceable Means; as he doth Es-
 steem the Service of those who first Engaged in the Co-
 venant, and have since that time faithfully followed the
 Ends thereof, to be Duty to God and Loyalty to him;
 so is he willing in regard of others, who have been in-
 volved in these late Commotions in England against Re-
 ligion and Government, to pass an Act of Oblivion, ex-
 cepting only some few in that Nation, who have been
 Chief Obstructors of the Work of Reformation; and

Chief Authors of the Change of Government, and of the Murder of his Royal Father. Provided that these who are to have the Benefit of this Act, lay down Arms, and return into the Obedience of their Lawful Sovereign.

The Committee of the States of the Kingdom, and General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, having Declared so fully in what Concerns the Sectaries and the present Designs, Resolutions and Aings of their Army against the Kingdom of Scotland; And the said Committee and Assembly having sufficiently laid open publick Danger and Duty, both upon the Right Hand and upon the Left: It is not needful for his Majesty to add any thing thereunto; except that in those things he doth Commend and Approve them; And that he Resolves to Live and Die with them and his Royal Subjects, in Prosecution of the Ends of the Covenant.

And whereas that prebailing Party in England, after all their strange Usurpations, and Insolent Aings in that Land, do not only keep his Majesty from the Government of that Kingdom by Force of Arms: But also have now invaded the Kingdom of Scotland, who have deserved better things at their Hands, and against whom they have no just Quarrel; his Majesty doth therefore desire and expect that all his good Subjects in England, who are, and resolve to be faithful to God and to their King, according to the Covenant, will lay hold upon such an Opportunity, and use their utmost endeavours to promote the Covenant, all the Ends thereof, and to recover and Re-establish the Antient Government of the Kingdom of England, (under which in many Generations it did flourish in Peace and Plenty at Home, and in Reputation Abroad) and Privileges of the Parliament, and Native and just Liberty of the People: His Majesty desires to Assure himself, that there doth remain in these so much Confidence of their Duty to Religion, their King and Country; and so many sparkles of the antient English Valour, which shined so Eminently in their Noble Ancestors, as will put them on to bestir
 G 2 them.

themselves for the breaking the Yoke of these Mens Oppressions from off their Necks: Shall Men of Conscience and Honour set Religion, Liberties and Government at so low a Rate, as not rather to undergo any Hazard before they be thus Depriv'd of them? Will not all Generous Men count any Death more Tolerable than to Live in Servitude all their Days? And will not Posterity blame those who dare Attempt nothing for themselves, and for their Children, in so good a Cause, in such an Exigent? Whereas if they gather themselves and take Courage, putting on a Resolution answerable to so noble and just an Enterprize; they shall Honour God, and gain themselves the Reputation of Pious Men, Worthy Patriots, and Loyal Subjects, and be called the Repairers of the Breach, by the present and succeeding Generations; And they may certainly Promise to themselves a Blessing from God upon so Just and Honourable Undertaking for the Lord, and for his Cause, for their own Liberties, their Native King and Country, and the unvaluable God and Happiness of Posterity. Whatever hath formerly been his Majesty's Guiltiness before God, and the Bad Success that these have had, who own'd his Affairs whilst he stood in opposition to the Work of God; yet the State of the Question being now Altered, and his Majesty having obtained Mercy to be on God's Side, and to prefer God's Interest before his own, he hopes that the Lord will be Gracious, and Countenance his own Cause in the Hands of Weak and Sinful Instruments, against all Enemies whatsoever.

This is all that can be said by His Majesty at present, to those in England and Ireland, at such a Distance, and as they shall acquit themselves at this time, in the Native Discharge of their Necessary Duties; so shall they be Accepted before God, Endear'd to his Majesty, and their Names had in Remembrance throughout the World.

Given at Our Court at *Dumfermling*, the Sixteenth Day of *August*, 1650. And in the Second Year of Our Reign.

T H E
D E C L A R A T I O N
O F T H E
C o m m i s s i o n e r s
O F T H E
G e n e r a l A s s e m b l y o f *Scotland.*

As follows :

TH E Commission of the General Assembly, considering that there may be just Ground of Stumbling from the King's Majesties refusing to subscribe and emit the Declaration offer'd unto him by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly concerning his former Carriage and Resolutions for the future, in reference to the Cause of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof. Doth therefore Declare, That this Kirk and Kingdom do not own or espouse any Malignant Party, or Quarrel, or Interest; but that they Fight meerly upon
their

their former Grounds and Principles, and in Defence of the Cause of God, and of the Kingdom, as they have done these Twelve Years past; and therefore as they do Disclaim all the Sin and Guilt of the King and of his House; so they will not own him nor his Interest, otherwise than with a Subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the Cause of God, and disclaims his and his Father's opposition to the Work of God and to the Covenant, and likewise all the Enemies thereof; and that they will with Convenient speed take in Consideration the Papers lately sent unto them from *Oliver Cromwell*, and Vindicate themselves from all the Falshoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the Quarrel betwixt us and that Party is mis-stated, as if we own'd the late King's Proceedings, and were resolv'd to Prosecute and Maintain his present Majesty's Interest, before and without Acknowledgment of the Sins of his House and former ways, and Satisfaction to God's People in both Kingdoms.

A. Ker.

*Westkirk, 13
August, 1650.*

13 August, 1650.

THE Committee of Estates having seen and considered a Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly, anent the Stating of the Quarrel whereon the Army is to Fight, Do approve the same, and heartily Concur therein.

Tho. Henderson.

A.

LETTER

FROM

Lieutenant General *David Leslie*

TO THE

Lord General Cromwell.

MY LORD,

I am Commanded by the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, and desired by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to send
unto,

unto your Excellency the enclosed Declaration, as that which contained the State of the Quarrel, wherein we are resolved, by the Lord's Assistance, to Fight your Army, when the Lord shall please to call us thereunto. And as you have profess'd you will not Conceal any of our Papers, I do desire that this Declaration may be made known to all the Officers of your Army, and so I rest

Your Excellency's most Humble Servant,

*Bruchton, 13
August, 1650.*

David Lesley.

*For His Excellence the
Lord General Cromwell.*

Some

Some Observations

U P O N

This DECLARATION.

I. **A**S to the *King*. I suppose the Reason why it has not been Publish'd in our *Histories* since the *Restoration*, was out of *Respect* to his *Majesty*, as casting a foul *Blot* upon him, in *Consenting* to such a *Declaration*. And therefore, tho' they cou'd not Avoid mentioning of it, yet they did it as *Tenderly* as might be, and have not given us the *Whole*.

But Considering that it was *Printed* by the *Presbyterians* in the Year 1650; and no doubt is still in their Hands, to be *Re-publish'd*, when they see Opportunity, more to his *Majesty's* Disadvantage; and that it is no *Secret*, his *Majesty* was then *Compell'd* to take the *Covenant*: I think it more for his Honour, and the *Truth* of History, to let it be seen, with all the due *Circumstances* of it, and the *Steps* by which he was *Betray'd* and *Forc'd* into it, by the most *extreme Necessity*; which, considering his *Age*, then but 20 *Years* old, and the *Desperateness* of his *Condition*, having no other *Hole* to *Creep* in at into any of his *Dominions*; or other visible *Remedy* then left to *Save* even his *Life*, tho' but for a few *Days*; the *Enemy* being just at hand, within a few *Miles* of him, the same *Oliver*, who had *Cut-off* his *Father's Head*; and was then *Hunting* of him; and the *Presbyterians*; who Pretended to *Adhere* to him, having *Actualy Renounc'd* him, upon his *Refusing* to *Sign* that *Declaration*, as appears fully by their *Act* at the *West-Kirk* here set down;

These things are as Great *Alleviations* on the *King's* part, as the *Temptation* was Great, and his *Age* tender, not to *Resolve* upon *Martyrdom*, as his *Father* had done. And it is more for his *Honour* to have it thus told, with the true *Circumstances* of it; than to leave it to *Blacken* his *Memory* much more, when his *Enemies* shall *Publish* it, with false *Aggravations*, and the *Truth* be *Forgotten*.

It is told before, *Seet* xv. How the *General Assembly* objected against the *King*, the Great *Unwillingness* and *Reluctancy* with which he *Sign'd* this *Declaration*; and that he shou'd say afterwards, *He did not think his Father Guilty of Blood; and that notwithstanding he had so Declar'd, he had his own Meaning thereof.* This was then made use of as a Great *Aggravation* against the *King*. But now do's fully *Justify* him, so far, as that he did not *Willingly* cast such a *Reflection* upon his *Royal Father*, or *Himself*.

And tho' I do by no Means allow of any *Mental* and *Equivocal Reservations* in any *Oath* or *Declaration*; which ought to be *Taken* in the known *Sense* of the *Imposer*. And this was *Impos'd* on the *King*; tho' not so *Pretended*, and so left him at greater *Liberty*; yet even in that *Case*, it ought not to have been done; But if any such *Practice* cou'd be *Justified*, there was a *Reservation* in this *Case*, which perhaps the *King* Meant, and there was too much *Truth* in it, *viz.* That the *Blood* of that *Rebellion*, was, in a Great Measure occasion'd by the *King* his *Father*, not *Intentionally*, so as to lay the *Guilt* upon him, God forbid; but by the *Effects* of his much mistaken *Clemency*, in giving *Way*, at the *Beginning*, to those *Seditious Spirits*, who fought to *Wrest* the *Government* out of his *Hands*; And for *sparing* his *Justice* to a *Few*, in *Time*, Involv'd himself, his *Family*, and all his *Kingdoms*, in *Ruin*, not *Repair'd* to this *Day*! And hardly *Repairable*, by the *Cursed Principles* of *Rebellion* these *Incendiaries* have left behind. Who having *Prosper'd* once, *Attempted* the like often in the *Reigns* of his *Sons*; and wou'd embroil us again. But to go on with the *Declaration*. 2. There

2. There was not only no *Toleration* for *Episcopacy*, but the utter *Extirpation* of it Decreed ; not only in *Scotland*, but in *England*, and all other his *Majesty's* Dominions.

3. The *Rebels* were Declar'd to have been *Faithful* and *Loyal* Subjects, and to have carry'd on the *Cause* of *God*, in all that they had Acted against *K. Char. 1.* And the whole *Blood* of the *Rebellion* laid upon his Head. And that his *Defending* himself against them, was opposing the *Work* of *God*.

4. All those that had *Serv'd* the *King* against them, (whom they call'd *Malignants*) were to be *Discarded*. And the *King* engag'd, not only not to *employ* them in any *Offices* whatsoever, no not in his *Family*, not to *Cherish* or *Countenance* them, but not so much as to *Love* them.

And they bestow a Bantering *Exhortation* upon them, not to *Grudge* or *Repine* ! But to Bear it *Patiently* ; for *Peace* sake, and out of their *Love* to the *King*, to let him be at *Quiet* ! &c,

This came [*Decently* !] from those, who, when the *King* had made a *Deed* of *Gift* to them of the *Kingdom* of *Scotland* [as before quoted] Settld their *Presbytery*, and every thing that they cou'd *Ask* ; were so far from being *Quiet* themselves, that contrary to their *Oaths* and *Promises*, they *March'd* against him with an *Army* into *England*, to have their *Presbytery* Settld there too. And nothing less will *Content* them now. As their *Sanguair-Declaration* speaks *Expressly*, and the *New Associations* of both their *Provincial Synods* not *Obscurely* !

And they *Insult* at the old Rate. Bid the *Episcopal Church* there not *Grudge* or *Repine* that they will allow them no *Toleration*, and *Persecute* them from *City* to *City* ; Why shou'd they not bear it, for *Peace* sake ! And rather than make any *Disturbance* ! While, at the same time, they are

not *Content* themselves with a Full and Free *Toleration* in *England*, but will set the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, if they are not Admitted into all *Places* of *Power* and *Trust*! And *Claim* it as their *Birth Right*! But the *Prelatists* and *Malignants* have no *Birth-Rights*! What shou'd they do with *Birth-Rights*! But to go on.

5. They *Commanded* the King, not only to *Recal* the *Commissions* he had given, and to *Disband* those who were not *Presbyterians*, that were in *Arms* for him: But to *Acknowledge*, that it was *Unlawful* to have made use of them, particularly of those his *Subjects* in *Ireland*, who had *Return'd* to their *Duty*, and the King had made *Peace* and a *Treaty* with them, which these *Covenanters* here *Declare* to be *void*, and the King *Absolved* from the *Faith* he had given; and that he ought not to have *sought* unto so *unlawful* *Help* for *Restoring* of *Him* to his *Throne*. And that for the *time to come* he shou'd rather *Choose* *Affliction* than *Sin*. That is, to be *Depos'd* and *Murder'd* by the *Covenanted Rebels*, Rather take the *Assistance* of others of his *Natural Subjects*, pursuant to their *Bounded Duty* and *Allegiance*! But *Papists* must not have leave to *Repent*, or to be *Loyal*! And yet are *Charg'd* with *Disloyalty*! Several of them were sent from *Ireland* to the *Great Marquess* of *Montrose*, and did *Signal Service* against the *Rebels* of the *Covenant*. Therefore they cou'd not *endure* them! But they made no *Scruple* themselves of *Employing* *Papishes*, all whom they cou'd *Debauch*, on their *Side* against the King; who in one of his *Declarations* tells the *Parliament*, that they had more *Papists* in their *Army*, than he had in his. But they might *Lawfully* break their *Allegiance*, and *fight* against their King: But it was *Unlawful* for him to make use of them for his own *Preservation*, or suffer them to *Pay* their *Allegiance* to him!

6. It is *Plain* by this *Declaration*, that all they *fought* for, and all the *Use* they had of the King, was to set up
Them.

Themselves the Presbyterians, their Solemn League and Covenant, their Directory, Confession of Faith, &c. in England as well as Scotland, against the Sectaries, as they call'd the Independants, and other their fellow Sectaries, who had then got the Upper hand of them, tho' Born and Nurs'd by them Ungrateful as they were!

Numb. II.

Edinburgh Feb. 1. 170 $\frac{3}{4}$.

MAfter Massie, a Scottish Gentleman, living within nine Miles of Edinburgh, sent for Mr. Burges, an Episcopal Minister to Baptize his Child: The Presbyterian Preacher of the Paroch, Commanded his Parishioners to Rise (under Pain of Excommunication) and to thrust out that Intruder (as he call'd him.) Whereupon a great many People came to Mr. Massie's House, where they not only Abused his Wife very ill, tho' lying in Child-bed, but also tore all the Minister's Cloaths, Beating him most unmercifully, and with much ado were perswaded to let him have an Old-Coat, and so be gone. He was twice Beset on the Road, with a Design to Kill him with Stones, but it pleased God to Preserve his Life.

P. S. Observe that Mr. Burges hath Comply'd with the Government. And Served as Chaplain in K. W's Regiments.

OBSE R V A T I O N S on Numb. II.

This Letter is but a Single Instance of what is frequent through that Kingdom. Of which more is told in the *New Association*. But no Notice taken, or Answer given in this Occasional Letter. (See likewise Num. III. of Appendix to the *Wolf Script*.) For it is Matter of Fact, and cannot be Deny'd. Therefore that Author did Wisely Slip it.

But

But there is *Another* since, for whom nothing is too Hard, who has Printed a Book call'd, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, which Met at Edinburgh, May 6. 1703*, in Answer to another *Relation* of it, which is Intitul'd, *The Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, &c.* which is quoted in the fore-going Sheets. And he undertakes to Prove the very *Good Usage* which the *Episcopal Clergy* and those of their *Communion* meet with in *Scotland*. For which Reason I have Publish'd this *Letter* come now to hand. And several others, to the like Purpose, I have seen.

However, nothing can be a clearer *Proof*, than the *Answers* which this *Author* of the *Account* gives. He comes in his *Preface*, p. 3. to what was said in the *Proceedings* of the *Male-Treatment* of the *Episcopal Clergy* at *Edinburgh*. And he puts it off thus, That the *Instances* were too *General*. And says he, *I am at too great a Distance for a speedy Enquiry*. It seems then, he was in too great *Hast* with his *Book*. That he cou'd not stay for *Information*, before he pretended to give an *Answer* ! But there is a great deal of *Slander* and *Malice* in his *Book* ; and the *Party* cou'd not want it so long !

But how cou'd a Person of that *Kingdom*, who gives us *News* every day from thence ; and is acquainted with so many of the *Scots-Men* now in *London*, especially of the *Whig side*, who were then at *Edinburgh*, and sat in the *Parliament* there ; and from whom he Receiv'd the *Particulars* of his long *Account* of their *Proceedings* ; How cou'd this Man want *Information* of what was Publick at that time in *Edinburgh* ? At least, he might, in the Return of a *Post*, have had full *Information* from thence ; where his *Correspondents* lie, who furnish him *Weekly* with *News*.

But there is a more Shameless *Come-off* even than this, in his *Book*, p. 11, 12, where he wou'd Solve the *Rabbling* of an *Episcopal Meeting* at *Glasgow*, who had the *Protection* of the *Privy Council*, pursuant to her *Majesty's* Gracious *Letters* on their Behalf, which is told in the *New Assoc.* Part. 2. *Supplement*, p. 1, 2, 14.

1. He calls it a *Jacobite Conventicle*. Tho' care was taken by the *Privy-Council*, that the *Clergy Man* whom they sent to *Officiate* there, was one who had *Qualify'd* himself according to *Law*, and taken the *Oaths* Requir'd by the *Government*. But he was *Episcopal*, that was the whole Cause. And there was nothing of *Jacobitism*, not one Title, appear'd in the whole Case; But purely the Point of *Conscience* as to *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*, for which I Refer you to their *Petition* to the *Queen*, which is Inserted in *Wolf Stript*, Append. Num. III. Therefore this *Author* calling them *Jacobites* was only an *Ill-Word* to *Scold* with, as they call the *Church of England* *PAPISHES!* And our *Common Prayer* the *MASS* in *English!* But this *Clergy-Man* who *Officiated* at *Glasgow*, gave greater *Proof* of his *Affection* to the *Government*, than several *Presbyterian Ministers* now in *Places*, who *Refus'd* the *Oaths*, and have not taken them to this day. Which being told in the *Proceedings*, is own'd for *Truth* in the *Account*, Pref. p. 2. And the *Quakers* *Instanc'd* in *Justification*, who have a *Scruple* about *Oaths*. Wou'd such an *Excuse* have *Pas'd* from the *Episcopal Clergy*, if they had *Pleaded Quakerism* for not taking the *Oaths!* And why may not some of them have *Scruples*, as well as the *Presbyterians!*

2. But this *Advocate* of theirs has a *Better Reason* to *Clear* them from that *Rabbling* at *Glasgow*, in his *Account*, p. 11. which is, That the *Episcopal Meeting* there did set the *Mobb* upon *Themselves!* Tho' they were not *Arnu'd*, nor made any *Resistance*, several of them were *Hurt* and *Wounded*, and the *Clergy-Man* who *officiated* hardly *escaped*, Sir *John Bell's* House where they met, was *Gutted*, and his very *Gardens* *Destroy'd*, and his *Eldest Son* *Wounded*. And in that *City*, which is the *Second* in the *Kingdom* for *Greatness*, and the most *Presbyterian* and *Whig* of any other, the very *Nest* of them, where the *Rabbling* of the *Episcopal Clergy* and *Churches*, then *Establish'd* by *Law*, in the *Begin-*
ning

ning of this *Revolution*, was Carry'd on with the utmost *Barbarity*, which I have from *Eye-Witnesses*; and several *Circumstances* of their *Cruelty*, especially of what they call their *White Regiment* of *Women*, kept on foot for this very Purpose, cannot be told for the *Filthy Obscenity* of them, which cost one of the Clergy then *Preaching* his *Life*, who was thus Treated by them in the *Church*, if not in the *Pulpit*; and the worthy Mr. *Toland*, since well known, then a *Student* in that *University*, was a Principal Man at *Heading* the *Mob*, and *Hallooing* them at the Clergy; and this *White Regiment* was up, at this last *Rabbling* of which we are now *Speaking*; and *Maggy Steen* their *Collonel*, was in *Consult* with some of the *Presbyterian* Ministers and *Magistrates* the *Night* before; Is it not very likely then, that in this *Place*, and under these *Circumstances*, a *Few* of the *Episcopal* *Perfwasion*, *Un-Arm'd*, and in no *Posture* of *Defence*, shou'd *Raise* this *Mob* upon themselves; which might have cost them their *Lives*? And probably had, if my Lord *Kilmaers* had not come in with some *Forces* he commanded there to their *Rescue*. Whom this *Author* calls *Jacobite* *Ruffians*, who *drew their Swords* and *Quarrell'd* with the *Boys*, and others they found in the *Streets*. This was the *Innocent* and *Godly* *MOB*, then *Assaulting* *Sir John Bell's* *House*, where the *Episcopal* *Meeting* was kept! And this was the *Manner* in which he tells, that they *Rais'd* this *Tumult* upon *Themselves*! And calls it a *Jacobite* *Outrage*! And says they were *Resolv'd* on a *Tumult*, and *Fear'd* the *Moderation* of the *People*. Why did they not let the *MOB* alone, and see the *Utmost* they wou'd have done? But they *Fear'd* their *Moderation*! And it was the *Soldiers* *Rais'd* the *Tumult*; for it is the *Second* *Blow* that makes the *Quarrel*. There had been no *Disturbance*, tho' they *Murder'd* every Man in that *Meeting*, if no *Resistance* had been made, and the *Soldiers* had not come in, and *Disturb'd* that *Good Work*! There is no *Disturbance*, when a *Butcher* kills a *Sheep*.

But how came it, That the *Privy-Council* who Examin'd this Matter, did not *Punish* these *Jacobites* who Rais'd this *Tumult* ? But, on the *Contrary*, Order'd the *Magistrates* to *Repair* the *Damages* done to *Sir John Bell's House* ; And, for the future to *Protect* that *Episcopal Meeting*, pursuant to *Her Majesty's Orders* ; or otherwise *Threaten'd* to send more *Forces* among them, to *Teach* them their *Duty*. Notwithstanding these *Presbyterian Magistrates* had the *Grace* to refuse to do either ! Why then were not the *Forces* sent ? This *Author* tells, p. 11. That the *Presbyterian Party* were so *Strong*, in the *Privy-Council* as to *Hinder* it. Then sure they were so *Strong* as not to have *Suffer'd* the *Reflection* of that *Tumult* to be laid upon the honest *Presbyterians*, if there had been no *Cause* for it, but that the *Jacobites* had Rais'd it upon *Themselves* ! He confesses, p. 12. That the *Inhabitants* of *Glasgow* did *drive them out of their Conventicles set up against Law*. Why ? Tho' *Episcopacy* was *Abolish'd*, by *Act* of their own *Parliament*, from being the *Establish'd Religion* ; Was it made *Unlawful* for them to have any *Liberty of Conscience*, and to *Serve God* in their *Houses*, when they were *Turn'd out of their Churches* ? Or, was not the *Queen's Authority Sufficient* ; or their *Regard* for *Her Majesty* so *Great*, as to *Gratify* Her (if it had been no more) in so *Small* a Matter, as to suffer one *Episcopal Meeting* ? And why wou'd they not let the *Privy Council* be *Judges* of this, since they own that the *Major Part* of them were on their *Side* ? Or, had they a *Private Watch-Word* ?

But this *Author*, giving his *Reasons*, why the *Presbyterians* Refuse any *Toleration* to the *Episcopal Party* in *Scotland*, says, p. 57. That *for such of the Episcopal Clergy as have taken the Oaths to Her Majesty, there is no need of it, they may Preach and Pray whenever they can Procure an Auditory ; for there is no Law against it*. Now this was the *Case* of that *Episcopal Meeting* at *Glasgow*, for the *Clergy-Man* who did *Officiate* there, had taken the *Oaths* ; and as such, was sent by the *Privy-Council*, pursuant to *Her Majesty's Gracious Letters*. Which, now it seems, were

not contrarry to *Law*. Yet were *Oppos'd*! And this *Author's* Justification of it, is, That they *drove out a Conventicle set up against LAW*! And they will suffer none *other* there to this Day. Tho' the *Episcopal Party* there have humbly *Petition'd* Her Majesty for it. But cannot *Obtain* it, for *Fear* of the *Presbyterians*! Why did the *Magistrates of Glasgow* Answer the *Privy-Council*, that they could not undertake to *Protect* any *Episcopal Meeting* there, as they were *Commanded*? Especially Considering that *there was no Law against it*. Cou'd not they *Protect* the *Laws* against a few *Jacobites*? (as this *Author* calls them) or hinder them from *Rabbling of Themselves*! Why did they *Oppose Forces* going down against them? Why do's this *Author* say, p. 12. That *had not the sending of Forces thither been wisely Prevented* — Scotland *had unavoidably been thrown into greater Convulsions and Disorders, than any that have happen'd since the Restoration of K. Char. the Second*? This is fair *Warning*! And these are *Grateful Men*!

Had they *Forgot*, that when *Episcopacy* was *Establish'd*, in the Year 1669, and afterwards (as it is *Express'd* in the *Glasgow Petition* beforemention'd) *K. Char. 2. did grant even to the Presbyterians and their Preachers, as much, if not more, than we now humbly Address for, altho' they were equal Enemies to Himself, as to the Monarchy.*

And has their *Address* to *King James 7th* quite *Slipt* out of their *Minds* (which therefore to *Refresh* their *Memories*, is *Re-printed* in the *Appendix* to *Wolf-Strip'd*, Num. 1, p. 3, 4.) wherein they give many *Thanks* for the *Indulgence* he *Granted* them, and *Promis'd* perpetual *Loyalty*, upon their *Word* and *Conscience*? Which they *Religiously* perform'd! As to his *Father*! So hitherto to his *Daughter*! Whose least *Commands* [or *Desires*] they *Dispute Inch by Inch*!

And the *Return* of *Gratitude* which they made to these *Princes* for their *Great Clemency* to them (Plentifully by them *Acknowledg'd*, at the *Time*) was to *Raise Rebellions* against them, while they *Liv'd*; and after their *Death*, to *Blacken* their *Memory* as the *most Cruel* of *Tyrants*!

Thus

Thus this *Account* gives a long *Detail* of the *Sharp Acts* made against the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, during these *Reigns*. But says not a *Word* of the *Cause* of it, and even *Necessity* which forc'd the *Parliament* (they forgot that) as well as the *King* to make these *Laws*, to Preserve the *Nation* from the daily *Murders*, *Assassinations*, and *Rebellions* of these *People*, the like I believe not Heard in any *Christian Country* ! They not only set-up *Declarations* downright *Disowning* the *King*, and *Preaching* it as every *Man's Duty* to *Kill* him, but all who *Obedyed* him, or *Serv'd* him. And they have *Murder'd* the *Soldiers* whom they found *Single Travelling* the *Road*, for no other Reason, but because they saw the *King's Livery* upon their *Backs* ! And when *Taken*, and brought to *Execution*, had their *Lives* offer'd them, upon no Harder Condition than only to say these *Words*, *God save the King*, No ! They wou'd not Buy their *Lives* so Dear ! And wou'd suffer Death rather than do it ! But when their *right Hands* were cut off [which is part of the *Sentence* for *Treason* there] Sprinkled their *Blood* upon the *People*, calling it [*Blasphemously* !] *The Blood of the Covenant*. This is the same *Trayterous Covenant* they have now *Renew'd*, since Her *Majesty's* Accession to the *Throne* ; and which they think the very *Covenant of God* ! And they *Baptize* their *Children* into it ! It is frequently given in *Charge* at their *Baptisms*, with their *Confession* of *Faith*, &c. This is in *Lieu* of the *Sign* of the *Cross* ! And this Allows of no *King* or *Queen* who will not take it. This has made them *Renounce* *Queen Ann*, and for the same Reason they gave against her *Uncle K. Char. 2.* because she is *Episcopal*. For they will have none but a *Presbyterian* to *Reign* over *Them* !

When the *Duke of York* was *Commissioner* in *Scotland*, he cou'd not believe it *Possible*, what was told him ; That *Men* cou'd be *Possess'd* with such a *Frenetical Spirit* of *Furious* and *Unchristian Zeal*, as to *Scruple* saying, *God save the King*, which is a *Scripture-Expression*, and often us'd

to those who were not very *good Kings*; and signifies no more than *Let the King Live*, as the *Hebrew* reads it; which *Daniel* us'd to an *Heathen King*, who had cast him into the *Den of Lions*. Dan. vi. 21.

But his *Royal Highness* had Occasions, while he was there, to be Convinc'd of this; for he himself offer'd *Pardon* to some of these *Rebel-Zealots*, who were *Condemn'd* during his *Administration*, upon the *Sole Condition* of saying *God save the King*; but all his *Rhetorick* cou'd not persuade them!

They have *Shot* at and *Wounded* BISHOPS in their *Coaches* in the *Streets* of *Edinburgh*. They *Assassinated* the *Lord Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, as before is mention'd; And presently after flew out in open *Rebellion*, and *Fought* it in the *Field* at *Bothwell-Bridge*, where these *Assassins* were their *Chief Commanders*. Some of whom that *Escap'd*, Fled into *Holland*, and were follow'd by *Sir William Sharp*, Son to the *Arch-Bishop*, who Apply'd himself to his *Highness* for *Leave* to *Apprehend* them, but cou'd not obtain it. And had the *Mortification* to see them come over in his *Train*, and Employ'd in our *Deliverance*! But without *Confession* or *Satisfaction* made for the *Murder* of a *Bishop*. No. They thought it no *Murder*, but an *Heroical* Imitation of the *Zeal* of *Phinehas*!

These were not Content to use their *Slovenly* way of *Worship*, in their own *Houses*, or in *Reasonable Companies*, which was not deny'd them; but they wou'd meet in the *Hills*, 5, 6, 7, or 8000 of them together, in *Arms*, where they *Committed* several *Murders*.

And when the *King* did *Indulge* about an *Hundred* of their *Preachers*, and gave them full *Liberty* to *Hear* them, in a *Peaceable way*; they *Spurn'd* at it, and wou'd have none of it. And those of their own *Preachers* who Accepted of this *Liberty* from the *King*, they *Forsook* and *Disdain'd* them, as the *King's*, or the *Councils Curates*, which they, in *Contempt* call'd them; and wou'd not meet otherwise than in

Opposition to the Government, and in what *Numbers* they pleas'd, and to do what they pleas'd ! This occasion'd the *Laws* made against those *Field-Conventicles* of Rebellion. Which these *good Men* call *Persecution*.

And yet how many of them did the King Spare ! He shew'd great *Mercy* to them, for which they now call him *Tyrant* ! And have *Rebell'd* since, over and over again.

The Renown'd Sir *George Mackenzie*, Lord *Advocate* in *Scotland*, Wrote a *Vindication* of the *Reign* of *K. Char: II.* in *Confutation* of these *Falſe Representations* of the *Whiggs*, Printed here in *London* since the *Revolution*. And it Remains *Un-Answer'd* by them to this Day. For they cannot. It is *Matter of Fact*, of which he had *Perfect Knowledge*, being then upon the *Place*, and more *Particularly Oblig'd* by his *Office* to take *Cognizance* of it. Yet the *Old Objections* are here again *Repeated*, in *Ample* form, by this *Author* of the *Account*; without the *Least Notice*, that they have been *All already Confuted* ! And he knows it full well.

Can this *Author* find in all that *Reign* any who were *Glen-Coed* under *Trust*, after they had laid down their *Arms*, and submitted to the *Government* ?

Can he find such an *Instance* of the *Breach* of *Publick Faith*, as we are told of in *The Flying Post*, *Mar. 30. 1704* ? That the *Privy-Council* of *Scotland* (the *Major part* of which he *Confesses* to be *Presbyterians*) having given *Sir Alexander Mac-Donald* of *Glengary* (a *Relation* of *Mac-Donald* of *Glen Coe*, and who *Quit* his *House* for fear of the like *Treatment*, under the same *Presbyterian* *Adminiftration*) their *Safe Conduct* to come to *Edinburgh* by such a *Day*, and for *15 Days* after that he might be *secure* of his *safe Return*, did, when he *Came* accordingly, *Commit* him *Close Prisoner*, And when he *Pleaded* the *Safe-Conduct* they had *Given* him, they *Despis'd* it, and *Committed* him *Notwithstanding* !

This is *John Hus* and the *Council of Constance*. The *Presbyterian* out-doing the *Jesuit*. For the *Council* broke only the *Emperor's Safe-Conduct*, but these break *their own*. Tho' Acting in her *Majesty's Name*, they are Lyable to her *Just Resentment*, that her *Honour* suffer not in the *Case*. This is giving no *Quarter*, and making Men *Desperate*. It *Prostitutes* the *Dignity of Government*, and *Dissolves* all *Faith* and *Trust* not only betwixt *Prince* and *People*, but among all *Mankind*; And *Transforms* us all into so many *Beasts of Prey*; Independent on *Society* or *Laws*, shewing no Man any *Security* but in the *Strength* of his own *Arm*. It turns us from *Christians* far below the *Heathen*!

If the *Flying Post* has *Mis-Represented*. Let him look to that.

Otherwise these *Reflections* are *Just*. And these *Presbyterians* the *Abhorring* of all *Flesh*!

Many have *Broke* their *Faith*. But none except, They do it *above Board*, and stand in it! This is not the first *Time*. Their *History* affords *Plentiful Examples*. And must they be *Trusted* still!

There are *Particular Persons* among them, some of which I know, Men of *Honour* and *Good Nature*, whom I cou'd *Trust* with any thing of *Private Concern*. But take them as a *Body*, they are, and ever have been, the most *False* and *Perfidious* that can be shew'd of *Human Race*! And the *Question* is not, Where they have *Broke* their *Faith*? But where they Ever *Kept* it, in any thing wherein their *Cause* was *Concern'd*? Or Ever gave a *True Representation* of *Themselves*, or of their *Adversaries*? Or wou'd *Disown* a *Lye* they once *Told*, tho' never so *Plainly Confuted*? Or *Ceas'd* to *Repeat* it over again, tho' they cou'd not *Answer* what was said against it?

For it is not the *Method* of that *Party* to *Answer*. But to *Repeat* and *Repeat* their *Lyes* still on, without a *Blush*!

And

And to *Hammer* them into *People*, by Meer *Dint* of *Diligence*! And how *Strangely* have they *Prevail'd*!

Thus that *Notorious Lye* in their *Claim of Right*, of their *having Reform'd* from *Popery* by *Presbyters*, as well as that *Prelacy* was an *Unsupportable Grievance and Trouble* to that *Nation*, and *contrary* to the *Inclinations* of the *Generality* of the *People*, ever since the *Reformation* having been *Effectually* and *Demonstratively* *Disprov'd*, from their own *Histories*, in the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, Printed at *London* for *Char. Brome* in the Year *1695*. Yet this *Author* takes no *Notice* of it, but *Insists* still upon what he knows to be a *Lye*!

But what need he give *Himself* the *Lye*! And in the same *Breath*; that no body can *Miss* it! He pretends (to shew the *Great Moderation* of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*) that the *Prelatists* there Enjoy not only *Toleration* but a *Comprehension* too. And yet he tells, p. 42. That any sort of *Toleration* was not only *Refus'd* to them, as being the *Establishing of Iniquity by a Law*; but p. 46. That an *Act* Pass'd making it *High Treason*, by *Word*, *Deed*, or *Writing*, to *Defend Episcopacy*, or *Impugn Presbytery*; And upon this, says he (*Insultingly*!) *The Toleration Act* was *Dropp'd*, and no more *Heard* of it. It was *Time*, indeed, when it was made *High Treason* to *Propose* it!

And for the *Comprehension* (tho it is foolish to *Talk* of that, where a *Toleration* is *Deny'd*) there is an *Act* set down, p. 120. Made *June*, 12. 1693. Wherein the *Condition* of the *Comprehension* is, That they take the *Oath of Allegiance and Assurance*, subscribe the *Confession of Faith*, and *Declare* the same to be the *Confession* of their own *Faith*, and own the *Doctrines* therein contained to be *True*, and that they will constantly *Adhere* to the same; And likewise that they *Own* and *Acknowledge* *PRESBYTERIAN Church-Government* to be the *only Government* of this *Church*; and will *Submit* thereto, and *concur* therewith; And never *Endeavour*, *Directly* or *Indirectly*, the *Prejudice* or *Subver-*

tion thereof; And that they likewise Subscribe to observe the present Uniformity of Worship, &c. And says, p. 122. This was the first Act of COMPREHENSION Obtain'd for the Episcopal Clergy. Is that Man besides himself, to call this a Comprehension, which Excludes all but Rank Presbyterians! It is as Severe a Test as cou'd be Worded against the Episcopal Clergy.

Well then, he gives us Another in the Year 1695. which he puts foremost, for the better Grace, because it bears more Shew of Favour, it begins at p. 79. And requires only the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance. But who were Included in this? They only, that were, at the Time of his Majestys happy Accession to the Crown, and have since continu'd actual Ministers in particular Parishes; And no Sentence, either of Deposition or Deprivation past against them.

First hereby are Excluded all the Episcopal Clergy, who, at the Beginning of the Revolution, were Rabbl'd, in Savage Manner, and Thrust out of their Parishes, (and some of them out of their Lives) by the Godly Mobb, set on Work by the Ring-Leaders of the Faction, not only without Law; but against all the Laws then in being; before the Prince of Orange had Accession to the Crown of Scotland; but after his Coming over, in order to it! And their Convention did Adjudge all the Clergy thus Turn'd out, by the Mobb, to have been Lawfully Ousted, and that none of them shou'd be Restor'd. All these are Excluded out of this Gracious Act.

Secondly, All that had been turn'd out by the Presbyterian Administration, from the Beginning of the Revolution, to July 16. 1695. the Date of that Act. In which time, they, having the Full and Absolute Power, had made what Purgations they pleas'd, and cou'd Effect, all over the Nation; so that we may suppose there were few Episcopal Clergy left in Possession, except in the North, and some other Places, where the People kept them in, by Strong hand, and Defended them from the Presbyterian Inquisition, following

following their own *Inclinations*, as they said, since that was the *Rule*, and the Reason given in the *Claim of Right* for Abolishing of *Episcopacy*! And these stood out upon Account of the *Oaths*, as well as of *Episcopacy*. So that this Act was no *Favour* to these. Except to *Tempt* them by *Fair Means*, whom they cou'd not otherwise bring to *Compliance*. And we must think that very *Few*, if *any* of those in their *Power*, were left in *Possession* in 1695, seeing this *Author* tells us, p. 82. that *about 315 were turn'd out in 1689, and 1690.*

And it seems they did not expect *many* to come in, when no longer time was given by this *Act*, than from *July 16*, the Day it was made, to *Sept. 1.* next following. In which time many of the Kingdom might not Hear of it. And if any did come in, they were Expressly Barr'd from being *Members* of their *General Assemblies, Synods, or Presbyteries*, from *Licensing, Ordaining, or any Part of Government* in the *Church*, unless they were *Assumed* by their *Kirk-Judicatories*; who were left Free to *Assume* them, or not, as they Pleas'd, notwithstanding their having taken the *Oaths*.

But there is a Latitude given, even after the said 1st of *September*, that if any be *Assumed* by the *Kirk-Judicatories*, upon their *Certificate*, such shall be *Admitted and Allow'd to Qualify himself by taking the Oath of Allegiance, and Subscribing the same with the Assurance.* That is, in *English*, if the *Kirk* be Satisfy'd of their being thorough *Presbyterians*, and for their Turn, they are then, and not till then, rightly *Qualify'd* to take the *Oaths* to *K. William!* But where is the *Comprehension* here? For all is still left in the Hands of the *Kirk*. And they are not Requir'd to *Assume* any but whom they think fit. The *Security* here Propos'd is the *Proverb*, of *giving the Wolf the Lamb to keep.* The *Bishops* in *Scotland* had Power to *Assume* such of the *Presbyterians* as they thought fit. Were the *Presbyterians* thankful for this *Grace*? Did they think it a *Comprehension*?

But in this *Act* there is a *Clause*, That such of the said *Ministers* as shall not come in betwixt and the said *Day*, are hereby, and by Force of this present *Act*, ipso facto, Depriv'd of their respective *Kirks* and *Stipends*, and the same declar'd vacant, without any further *Sentence*. This opens the *Mystery* of this *Gracious Act*! Which was to Oust those *Episcopal Clergy* in the *North*, by Force of an *Act* of *Parliament*, whom all the *Kirk Authority* cou'd not *Dispossess*, they being Supported by the *Inclinations* of the *People*. And this is the Reason that the *Time* allow'd them was so short, wherein probably *Few* or *None* of them cou'd take the *Benefit* of the *Act*, if they had a mind to it. For the *Kirk* was Resolv'd to get Rid of them, at any rate, they were *Thorns* in their *Sides*, and their *Stout Opposition* did much abate the *Authority* of the *Kirk* all over the *Kingdom*.

But hereby they are Fallen into a worse *Snare*! For by this, *Lay-deprivation* is allow'd, and the *Civil Government* intermeddling to the Full, not only *circa Sacra*, but *in Sacris*, as this *Author* do's Distinguish. p. 74. And gives it as the *Great Reason* of the *Non-Conformity* of the *Presbyterians* to the *Episcopal Government*, because of the *Erastianism* they said of the *Bishops* in Submitting to the *Encroachments* of the *Civil Power* upon the *Inherent Rights* of the *Church*, such as this *Author* there mentions, to be *Judges* of the *Qualifications* and *Doctrine* of *Ministers*, or *Terms* of *Church-Communion*. Which, he says, the *Presbyterians* (not in *Holland*, but) in *Scotland*, have always oppos'd. Yet now they Fly to it, when it will serve their *Turn*!

If they say, the *Kirk* cou'd not help it, it was the *Parliament* that did it.

Ans^w. It was a *Parliament* they Commend, and bring this as a *Proof* of the *Great Moderation* of the *Kirk*. How else do's it shew the *Moderation* of the *Kirk*, if the *Kirk* did not *Consent* to it?

And, 2dly, Might they not suppose this to be the Case with the *Church* too ; and that She ought not to be loaded with all the *Acts of Parliament* made in such Cases?

But he brings a very Substantial *Argument* against *Admitting* any, whom they knew to be *Well-affected* towards *Episcopacy*, whatever *Tests* they took, or however they *Qualify'd* themselves, which is, p. 102. That they could not give any manner of *Assurance*, that they would not Endeavour to Subvert the *Constitution of the Church*, if they were admitted into the *Share of her Government*. This I own to be *Unanswerable*, it is strong *Sense* and *Reason*; and supposing that they thought themselves in the *Right*, they ought not to have *Admitted* any such. But then their *Hypocrisy* lies in this, 1. To *Pretend* otherwise, and *Produce Sham Acts of Parliament* which mean no such thing, but the direct *Contrary*. And 2dly, That they will not allow others to make use of the same *Prudence* and *Caution*, but Plead *Birth-Rights*, and such like *Senseless* things against them; and call that *Persecution* in others, which they *justify* in themselves.

This *Author* has Presented us, in his *Paper* of *Mar. 25. 1704*, with the *Address* of the *General Assembly* of the *Kirk* in *Scotland* to Her *Majesty*, sent the same Month.

1. It begins with that fully *Disprov'd Lye*, of the *Reformation* in *Scotland* being by *Presbyters*, and that the *Presbyterian Government*, was at that time *Settled*. Of this before.

2. As false is it what they next say of *God* having always *Signally bless'd* the *Presbyterian Government* of that *Church*, and the *Discipline* thereof, for the *Suppressing* of *Profanity* and *Curbing* of *Error*.

This is well said, if it did not want the *Circumstance* of *Truth*. For they stand *Chargeable* not only with their *Schism*, in breaking off from the *Church Government* of the whole *Earth*, from the *Days* of the *Apostles* to *John Calvin*: But likewise their *Doctrine* is *Charg'd* as *Corrupt* and *Unsound* in the *Faith*, and tending, by a *Natural Consequence*, to *Profanity* and *Error*.

Such are their *Anti-Nomian* Doctrines [the Presbyterians in *Scotland* are generally *Anti-Nomians*] That God sees no *Sin* in his *Elect*. That the *Good* Actions of the *Reprobate* are *Hateful* to God; and the *Sins* of the *Elect* not *Displeasing* to Him. They explain *Election* and *Reprobation* at such a Rate, as to Render those whom they call the *Elect* *Secure* in their *Sins*, tho' never so *Heinous*, and continu'd in to their last *Breath*. They *save* them by *Hidden* and *Ir-reversible* Decrees, without any Consideration of their *Good* or *Bad* Lives. They make *God* the Author of *Sin*, by denying *Free-Will* in *Man*, and saying that all our Actions are *Pre-determined*, and we cannot mend them.

This is not only *Mentioned*, but *Insisted* upon in the 2d Part of *New Association*, p. 18, &c. But no *Answer* given to it in the *Occasional Letter* before Consider'd.

From such *Principles* as these it is not strange to find such an *Abounding* of *Immorality* and *Prophaness* as this *Kirk-Address* do's Acknowledge to be now among them. It makes the *Gentry* *DEISTS*, and the *Common People* *ENTHUSIASTS*.

They may say as an *Anti-Nomian Preacher* in *London* did, not long since, to a Friend who Ask'd him the *Success* of his *Ministry*; He answer'd with great *Commotion*, and seem'd to *Wonder*, That he had *Preach'd* a *Congregation* of *Christians*, into a *Congregation* of *Devils*.

That *Prophaness* and *Immoralities* [some of a Sort not known before] have *abounded* in *Scotland*, much more since the late *Establishment* of *Presbytery* there, is *Notorious* to all in that *Country*; and *Bewail'd* by the *Good Men* of the *General Assembly*, who cannot find a *Reason* for it!

To what is before said, let me add the *Prophaness* of their *Holy things*. Their *Slovenly* way of *Worship*, sitting upon their *Tails*, and their *Hats* on their *Heads*, or *Hanging* upon one *Ear*. And having *Banish'd* as well *Decency* as *Learning* with the *Episcopal Clergy*, their *Lean-Flashy-Tedious*

dious-Sermons, and telling *God* all the *News* of the *Town* in their *Prayers*, their *Scots-Presbyterian Eloquence*, and *Nasty-Kitchin-Metaphors* apply'd to the *Almighty*, are indeed *Blasphemous*, (which they call *Familiarity with God*) and cannot go down with any *Man of Sense*, or who has a due *Notion* of the *Infinite Majesty*. This *Deformity* of *Holiness* has *Render'd* their *Religion* *Nauseous*, especially among the young *Nobility* and *Gentry*; and *Inclin'd* them to *Atheism* or *Popery*. Of the *Increase* of which the *General Assembly* do's likewise *Complain*. And when the *Comparison* lies betwixt the *Pompous Superstition* of the one, and the *Mechanick Dullness* and *Irreverence* of the other, it is not to be wonder'd, that *Popery* as well as *Prophaness* and *Immorality*, has had so many *Profelytes* among the *Presbyterians*.

But the *Presbyterians* give another *Reason* for it, *viz.* That the *Devil* is always most *Busie* among the *Saints*. Whence arise those *Swarms* of *Witches* [all *Dissenters*] which *Rise* and *Fall* with *Presbytery*, and its *Off-spring*. Hardly heard of under *Episcopal Administration*.

Besides the *Debauchees* of the *Covenant* are *Excus'd* upon an other *Account*; as one of their *Ministers* since the *Revolution*, said of a certain *Patron* of theirs, who was *Wicked* out of the *Common Road*, and *Notoriously* so; we must not take *Notice* of him, for *Scandal* to the *Cause*; and *he is as good to God another way*. He was *Sound at Heart*. For he had *Built* them a *Synagogue*!

I wish the *General Assembly* had nam'd some of those *Blessings* which they observe have always *Signally* attended *Presbyterian Government* in *Scotland*. I have heard, that as *Rebellion* introduc'd it, so the *Sword*, *Famine*, *Sickness*, and *Poverty* have always attended its *Establishment*. All which have *Signally* follow'd it now. They have not been *Establish'd* before since *Forty One*, those *Blessed Times*! Is this the *Blessing* of which they now mind *Her Majesty*? The *Rebellion* they then *Rais'd* against her *Royal Grand father*; which.

which succeeded (tho' he had *Establish'd* them too) till it brought on his *Destruction*, and of the *Church* with him, not only in *Scotland*, but in *England* and *Ireland*! And all this, by his *Playing* with them, his *Courting* and *Caressing* them, till they Grew too *Strong* for him. And they made as *Fine Loyal Addressees* as they do now. Nay more, they once *Declar'd* themselves fully satisfy'd, and that they had no more to *Ask*, after his having *Establish'd* their *Presbytery*, and *Abolish'd* *Episcopacy* for them. It was then a *Contented People* and a *Contented King*.

3. But it seems this *General Assembly* will not be content with all this. They will not have any of the *Episcopal Clergy* left among them. They will not suffer them to *Preach*, tho' in *vacant Churches*, as the *Address* speaks; nor to *Baptize* their own *Children*, or those of their *Communion* in private *Houses*, when the *Church-Doors* are shut against them, which this *Address* calls *Irregular Baptisms*. For this they *Outrag'd* Mr. *Massie*, &c. as before is told. They count it likewise *Irregular* to *Baptize* the *Children* of any who are under *Scandal* with them (and we know what they count *Scandal*) thus *Punishing* the *Innocent Child* for the *Parent's Offence*. But they think the want of *Baptism* to be little *Harm*. They make it but a *Formality*! And down it go's in their next *Heat* against *Sett-Forms*! They had almost worn it quite out, and the *Lord's Supper* too, in their last *Establishment*? As has been often told. See *Wolf Stript*. chap. iv. n. 3. p. 20.

If no *Private Baptisms* must be allow'd in *Scotland*; and of no *Children* of those who are under *Scandal* by the *Kirk*, then none of the *Church* there can have their *Children* *Baptiz'd*; unless at the *Peril* of the *Mobb*, where the *Presbyterians* *Prevail*, as in the *Case* of Mr. *Massie*, &c. or of the *Royal Authority*, which, as in the last *Reign*, they bring in to their *Aid*, where the *Inclinations* of the *People* are *Episcopal*, which is far the *Greater Part* of the *Kingdom*. Therefore this *Address* of the *General Assembly* do's direct

direct her *Majesty* to Issue her *Proclamation* against these Episcopal Clergy, who *Preach* or *Baptize*, and will not own the *Sentences* of *Deposition* by the *Kirk-Judicatories*, or of *Deprivation* by the *Privy Council*. These are the Men who Cry out upon *Erastianism!* of which before. But now we have it as the proper *Act* of the whole *General Assembly*.

And they being now strengthened by a *Letter* Counter-sign'd by D. of *Q.* to the *Privy Council* there, in pursuance to their Address, to let the *Laws* loose against the Dissenting *Clergy* (so the *Church* of *Scotland* is now nam'd) we may expect to hear more of their *Sufferings*, till they are Extirpated, if a more than Ordinary *Providence* do's not Interpose.

It is told in *New Assoc.* Par. 2. Supl. p. 14, 15. How Mr. *Rob. Calder* an Episcopal Clergy-Man was Treated at *Aberdene*, for Administring the *Holy Sacrament* there *Easter* was Twelve-Months, 1703.

And this Year, some of the Episcopal Clergy there, having given Notice for the *Sacrament* to be Administred in their own *Meeting-Houses* last *Easter-Day*, 1704; The *Presbyterians* there, being much fewer in Number than the *Church*, durst not venture upon their Common Refuge the *Mobb*; but took hold of the Advantage of the *Letter* before mention'd, in Her *Majesty's* Name, and obtain'd a Peremptory *Summons* from the *Presbyterian Privy Council* there, for these *Clergy-Men* to Appear at *Edinburgh*, to Answer these *Irregular* Proceedings. So that now they are Depriv'd both of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*. And can have them no otherwise than in an *Heathen Country*, and as the *Primitive Church*, in times of *Persecution*, under Peril of the Lawless *Mobb*, or of *Authority*.

In this Great Distress, they of the *Church* in *Aberdene*, much Superior in Number and Substance to the *Kirk-Party*, have humbly Addressed to Her *Majesty*, Representing the Deplorableness of their Condition, and Imploring Her *Majesty's*

jesty's Protection, at least, for their *Consciences*——But they must bear their *Chains*——And yet they rest fully *Afsur'd* of Her Majesty's good *Inclinations* towards them, and doubt not in the least of the *Sincerity* of Her Majesty's Professions when She came to the *Throne*, of Her being truly *Episcopal*, as She had been Educated. But they *Pity* the *Necessity* She is brought under by the *Mis-Representations* have been made to Her of the State and Strength of the *Faction*, in that Kingdom, as well as in *England*. And they *Pray* it may not Prove to her *Detriment*, as it did to Her Royal *Grand-Father*, who was thus *Perfwaded*, by the *Artifice* of *Designing Men*, to his own *Destruction*, and of the *Church* and *Nation* with him.

They *Pray* for Her Majesty. And commit their *Cause* to *God*.

Alas! Poor *Church* of *Scotland*! Alas for *Episcopacy* in these Kingdoms! Which is no more of *Divine Right* in *ENGLAND* than in *SCOTLAND*. There is but one *Episcopat* in the Whole Earth, of which each *Church* is a *Part*. And they us'd to be *Concern'd* for each other, as *Members* of the same *Body*. But by our *Unconcernedness* now for the *Church* of *Scotland*; by the *Experience* of the last *Age*, and the *Current* of this, we may *Compute*, That if *Episcopacy* be not *Restor'd* in *Scotland*, it will be *Abolish'd* in *England*——As before. The *Faction* in *Scotland* have *Declar'd* it. And in *England* they will not *Deny* it. And who is there to *Hinder* it!

I wou'd Ask any *Moderate Good-Natur'd Dissenter* in *England* [for such I know there are] Whether they wou'd not think it *Persecution* and a *Design* of utter *Extirpation*, if they were *Prohibited* from having their *Children Baptiz'd* in their own *Communion*? And after being *Rabbl'd* for this, instead of *Redress* or *Protection*, shou'd be *Answer'd*, Let the *Laws* loose upon them. And if the *Bishops*, if the *Convocation* shou'd be the *Promoters* of this, and *Address* for it, Whether they wou'd not be call'd *High-Flyers*, of a *Persecuting Spirit*, &c? And

And even this wou'd not be so severe upon the *Dissenters* here, as the Hindring of *Episcopal Baptism* is upon the *Church* in *Scotland*: Because the *Presbyterians* here do Acknowledge, as likewise in *Scotland*, the *Validity* of *Episcopal Ordination* (from which their first Reforming *Presbyters* did Derive their *Mission* and *Authority*) and consequently of their *Baptisms*. Whereas the *Presbyterian Ordinations* are Deny'd by us, and consequently their *Baptisms* to be *Valid*; more than if Administred by a meer *Lay-Man*, or *Woman*, in Case of *Necessity*. Nay it is worse, for here meer *Lay-Men* (for such are their *Presbyters*, if their *Ordination* is not *Valid*) take upon them, not only in one single Case of *Necessity* (as *Uzzah* thought) but *Ordinarily* and of *Right* to *Invade* the *Sacred Office*, in all its *Parts*, and that in direct *Opposition* to the *Priesthood* Ordain'd by *God*, like *Korah*; and so make it a *Stated Schism*. Therefore, tho' they may with a good *Conscience*, and pursuant to their own *Principles*, come to our *Baptisms*; yet we cannot go to *theirs*. And therefore, if all *Presbyterian Baptisms* were *Forbid* in *England*, it cou'd not be such an *Oppression* in *Conscience* upon them, as the *Forbidding* of *Episcopal Baptisms* in *Scotland* is to the *Church* there.

And suppose we shou'd Turn upon them the Argument made use of in the *Representation* of the *Commission* of the *General Assembly* to the *Parliament* in *Scotland* (Inserted in *Wolf Stript. Appen. Num. 1. p. 2.*) against any *Toleration* to the *Church* there, which they call *Establishing Iniquity* by a *Law*, and give this Reason, *That there can be no just Ground to Desire or Grant such a Toleration, seeing there was never in any Nation a Toleration allowed, where there was no Pretence of Conscience against Joynt-Communion.* As to the *Impudence* of their Assertion, it is like *Themselves!* Go *out-face* the *Sun* at *Noon-day!* Are not our *Objections* against their *Ordinations*, and the *Corruption* of their *Doctrines*, in many *Particulars* besides those beforemention'd, so much as a *Pretence* of *Conscience* against their *Communion!*

But what *Pretence* of *Conscience* had they against our *Communion* since the *Restoration*, 1660, in *Scotland*? Where all the present *Pretences* of the *English Dissenters* were taken out of the way, to *Try to Please* them! There was no *Liturgy*, nor any of our *Ceremonies*. And they cou'd not object against our *Doctrine*. Let them shew any *Pretence* but that of *Episcopacy*. And it was *Moderate* enough God knows! It was little more than their own *Moderatorships*, except the *Episcopal Ordinations*, to keep up the *Frame* of the *Church*; And which they themselves Dare not say are *Invalid*, because it wou'd Destroy their own *Reformation*, as they call it. And therefore they might have *Comply'd* even with that *Episcopacy* too, upon Point of *Conscience*. And so they had no *Pretence* whatsoever against *Joynt-Communion*. Which Argument they now as *Falsly* and *Foolishly* wou'd Turn upon the *Church*.

But it quite *Destroys* all the *Pretences* of their *Brethren* in *England*, even to a *Toleration* here! Yet they are *Brethren* still, for they are against *Episcopacy*. And so are the *Presbyterians* in *Holland*, for the same Reason, tho' their Grand Enemy *Erastianism* Reigns there, more than in any Part of the World. Yet they Dare object it against the *Church* of *England*! And Practise it Themselves (as before is shew'd) when it will serve their Cause. They can joyn with *Erastus*, or the very *French Papists* (whom they Invited over in *Forty One*) against the Common Foe *Episcopacy*. With which they are now making *Root and Branch Work*, when they will not suffer them to *Baptize* their *Children*. It is like the *Ægyptian Tyranny*, commanding Us to throw out our *Children* [not excepting the *Females*] that they may not *Live*. The one respected only *Bodily Life*, but this Concerns their *Souls*.

And tho' we know that the *Presbyterians* lay very little Stress upon *Baptism*, and will let their own *Children* Die without it, rather than *Baptize* them *Privately*, or not upon one of their *Preaching-days*, as is common in *Scotland*;

Yet

Yet is it not a Terrible *Imposition* upon their *Consciences*, who think otherwise, That the *Presbyterians* will neither *Baptize* their *Children* themselves, if sent for to their *Houses*, upon never so Apparent Danger of *Death*; nor suffer any *others* to do it!

Yet Mr. *Ridpath* wou'd make us Believe, that the *Episcopal Clergy* in *Scotland* enjoy not only a *Toleration*, but a *Comprehension* too! And that there is no *Oppressing* of *Tender Consciences* ther! Wou'd the *Dissenters* be Content with such a *Comprehension* in *England*?

The *Acts of Uniformity*, 1. *Eliz.* & *xiv. Car.* 2. yet *Un-repealed*, inflict *Severe Penalties* upon any who by *Word* or *Writing*, shall *Declare* or *Speak* any thing to the *Derogation*, *Depraving*, or *Despising* of the *Book of Common-Prayer*. Yet it is *Pelted* every day, from *Press* and *Pulpit*, in *Coffee Houses*, and both *Publick* and *Private Conversation*. Wou'd the *Dissenters* take it well, if the *Convocation* shou'd *Address Her Majesty* to *Issue her Royal Proclamation*, and *Command her Judges* and all *Officers*, to see those *Laws* put in due *Execution*; and shou'd give this as an *Answer* to Mr. *Calamy*, and the rest of their *Writers*? As the *General Assembly* has done in *Scotland*, in *Answer* to the *Cyprianick Age*, and other *Confutations* of their *Schism*, wrote by the *Episcopal Clergy* there. But have now stopt their *Mouths*, by an *Act* making it *High Treason* to *Speak* or *Write* in *Defence* of *Episcopacy*, or against their *Presbytery*. And other *Answer* give they none. And the *Dissenters* here *Cry* up their *Moderation*!

Lord, how long wilt Thou look upon this?

NUMB. III.

The Lord Chancellor Puckering his SPEECH, deliver'd in the House of Lords, in the Year 1588. Taken out of the State Worthies. 2d Edit. 1679. p. 607, 1608.

“ YOU are especially Comanded by her Majesty to take
 “ heed, that no Ear be given, nor Time afforded to
 “ the wearisome Sollicitations of those that commonly be
 “ Call'd *Puritans*, wherewithal the late *Parliaments* have
 “ been exceedingly Importun'd; which sort of Men, whilst
 “ that (in the Giddiness of their Spirits) they Labour and
 “ Strive to Advance a *New-Eldership*, they do nothing else
 “ but Disturb the good Repose of the Church and Com-
 “ monwealth; which is as well Grounded for the Body of
 “ *Religion* it self, and as well Guided for the *Discipline*,
 “ as any Realm that Confesseth the Truth. And the same
 “ is already made good to the World by many of the
 “ Writings of Godly and Learned Men, neither Answer'd,
 “ nor Answerable by any of these New-fangled Refiners.
 “ And, as the Case standeth, it may be doubted, whether
 “ they or the *Jesuits*, do offer more Danger, or be more
 “ Speedily to be Repressed. For albeit the *Jesuits* do Em-
 “ poyson the Hearts of her Majesty's Subjects, under a Pre-
 “ text of Conscience, to withdraw from their Obedience
 “ due to her Majesty, yet they do the same but Closely,
 “ and in Privy Corners: But these Men do both Teach
 “ and Publish in their Printed Books, and Teach in all
 “ their *Conventicles*, sundry Opinions, not only Dangerous
 “ to a well-settled Estate, and the Policy of the Realm, by
 “ putting a Pique between the *Clergy* and the *Laity*, but
 “ also much Deregatory to her Sacred Majesty, and her
 “ Crown, as well by the Diminution of her Antient and
 “ Lawful Revenues, and by Denying her Highness Prero-
 “ gative and Supremacy, as by offering Peril to her Ma-
 “ jesty's

“*jesty's* Safety in her own Kingdom. In all which things,
 “(however in other Points they Pretend to be at War
 “with the Popish *Jesuits*) yet by the Separation of them-
 “selves from the Unity of their Fellow-Subjects, and by
 “Abasing the Sacred *Authority* and *Majesty* of their *Prince*,
 “they do both Joyn and Concur with the *Jesuits* in open-
 “ing the Door, and Preparing the way to the *Spanish In-*
 “*vasion* that is Threatned against the Realm, &c.

Observations upon this SPEECH.

1. It is not so strange, that the *Puritans* in 1588, shou'd be Instrumental in the *Spanish Invasion* against a *Queen*, who kept a *Severe* but *Just* hand over them; as that the *Presbyterians* in 1641, shou'd Invite the *French* over hither against a *King*, who had so Wonderfully Exceeded in his Favours to them.

And their *Treason* was Detected, and their *Letters* taken which they wrote to the *French King*; who being then in his *Minority*, and his *Affairs* Embroil'd, by a *Rebellion* against him in his own Country, cou'd not Assist them with an *Armada*; but his *Chief Ministers*, first *Card. Richelieu*, and after *Mazareen* did help them to Form and carry on their *Rebellion*, from First to Last. And pretended to Vindicate themselves herein by way of Retaliation, for *K. Char. 1.* having sent an Army to assist those who were in *Rebellion* against the *French-King* at *Rochelle*.

Let me here Observe how Differently *Oliver* did Act the *King*, in the Beginning of his *Reign*, who *Rejected* the first *Foreign Address* that was made to him by the *City of Bourdeaux*, then in *Rebellion* against the *French King*, and said, *That such Examples were no way to be Encourag'd by him.* So far he had a true Notion of *Royalty*, That if *Kings* wou'd not Assist each others *Rebels*, but rather joyn together against them, it wou'd keep all *Kings* more *Secure*, and make *Rebellion* any where *Impracticable*. And tho'

they:

they may serve a present Turn by it, in time of *War* or other *Exigence*, it never fails to come Home to them, at one time or other.

Cardinal *Richelieu* was more than Reveng'd for *Rochelle*, by the Assistance and Direction he gave to the *Scotts-Presbyterians*; and sent them a more Powerful and Wicked Engine than the *Spanish Armada*, their Cursed Solemn League and Covenant, which, *Mutatis Mutandis*, is word for word the very same with that call'd *The Holy League*, which, under the Name of Preserving Religion, had rais'd that Terrible Rebellion in *France*, which almost Ruin'd the whole Nation. And as that *Holy League*, which was worded to be for the Preservation of the Kings Majesty's Person and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the Roman Catholick Religion, did Murther their K. *Hen. 3.* who Liv'd and Died a Zealous Roman Catholick: So our Solemn League which was worded in the same manner, in Defence of the King and the Protestant Religion, did Murther K. *Char. 1.* who liv'd and died a most Zealous Protestant.

And as the first Puritans in the Reign of *Q. Eliz.* were the Spawn of the *Jesuits* and *Popish Emissaries*, such as *Heath*, *Cummin*, &c. Who Broach'd among us the *Enthusiastical* Notions of being sent forth to Preach by the Impulses of our own Spirits, without any outward Ordination by Man; And run down *Liturgies*, as a *Dead Form*; and set up, in Opposition to them, the *Extempore Babble* (as it was in most of them) for the more *Spiritual* way; and this on purpose to Divide and Distract the *Church of England*, as was evidently prov'd before the *Queen* and *Council* by their *Letters of Mission* taken with them, and even their own *Confession*, when Palpably Detected and brought to *Justice*: So have they run on in the same way, from that day to this, and have been Acted by *Popish Councils* and *Measures*, [tho' All of them knew it not] as to bring in the *Spanish Invasion*, in that *Reign*; so afterwards the *French Designs*, to the Ruin of our *Church*, and of our *Monarchy*.

2. We may observe from this *Speech*, how Troublesome they have always been to *Parliaments*; Importuning and Solliciting them without End. And that it was the Opinion of this Wise *Queen*, that no *Ear* was to be given, nor *Time* afforded them; for she saw the Fatal *Consequences*, we have since experienced!

3. That tho' their *Pretences* were fully *Answer'd* by the then Learned *Divines*, and so *Confuted* that they cou'd make no *Reply*; yet that they still *Clamour'd* as much as ever, *Re-Printed* their *Objections* in *New Books*, with which they fill'd the *Nation*; and carry'd it on in their *Conventicles*, with *Undaunted Assurance*!

4. That one of their Main *Engines* was, to Blacken the *Clergy* to the *Laity*, and as it is worded in the *Speech*, to make a *Pique* between them.

5. That as their *Doctrine* was *Anti-Monarchical*, so Danger was Apprehended to the *Queens* Person from them.

I pray *God* our present *Queen* may not stand in *History*, one *Instance* more of *Presbyterian Gratitude*, after Her *Royal Father* and *Grand-Father*. Let her rather *Triumph* over them, as *Q. Elizabeth* did, and *K. Char. 2.* after the *Oxford Parliament*.

When She takes the same *Method* with them, She will have the like *Success*.

She has seen *Both Methods Try'd* before her; And the *Issue* of *Both*, more than *Once*; even as often as *either* of them has been *Try'd*.

O! Let me not in this too *Prove* a *Cassandra*.

NUMB. IV.

Geneva: Apr. 15. 1704. N.S.

I Remember I told in some of my Former, of one Mr. Osterwald a Minister of Neufchattel, who has Establish'd in the Churches belonging to that Principality, A Sett Form of Prayer, in Imitation of the *English Liturgie*; he has engag'd them to observe the Chief *Festivals* of the *Christian Religion*, and endeavours all he can to bring them to a near Conformity with the *Church of England*, being Convinc'd that it is the most Conformable in all Respects to the *Antient Primitive Church*. I believe in Process of time the Holy City of *Geneve* will be in some nearer degree of Proximity to us than it has been hitherto, and that by the means of three or four of their *Ministers*, who are Men of Piety and Learning, and free from Prejudice. They propos'd not long ago to Reform some of the *Weekly Sermons*, and instead of them to Establish a *Sett Form of Prayer*, intermixed with *Psalms*, and Reading of the *Scriptures*. This Proposal met with Opposition from a great many of the Old and most Bigotted *Ministers*, who Represented that such Innovations were Dangerous, and that this was a laid Design to introduce the *English Liturgie* among them. The *Magistrates* hearing of this Division among the *Ministers*, gave Orders that three *Ministers* might be Deputed from each *Party*, to Inform them fully of the State of the *Debate*; and accordingly the *Ministers* pleaded their Cause Solemnly before the *Council*. Above two *Thirds* of the *Magistrates* were for the *Alteration*, to have many of the *Sermons* abolish'd, and a *Sett Form of Prayer* Establish'd in their place; but they were unwilling to make this Change without the Unanimous Consent of all *Parties*, and they deputed Six of their Number to have a Conference with those who oppos'd the Change, and to Convince them of the Reasonableness

sonableness of it, and that they had no Design to bring in any Innovation, but what might tend to the Advancement of Religion. They have at last agreed the Matter, to Retrench some *Sermons*, but not so many as was intended, and to Establish a short *Form of Prayer*, which the *Ministers* are now Preparing.

For *Application* of this *Letter*, I refer to *Wolf Stript*, p. 49, 50.

NUMB. V.

Edinb. Apr. 5. 1704.

THE 15th Day of *March* last, being *Wednesday* the Weekly *Mercate* at *Edinburgh*, there was a *Procession* brought from the *Low Council-House*, by the way of the *Talbooth*, and in View of the *Mercate* People, and along the *Lucken-Booths* to the *Cross*, by Orders of her Majesty's *Privy-Council*, which was our Blessed *Saviour's Picture* in *Tallie-Douce* upon the *Cross*; this was carry'd upon the Point of a *Halbert* by a *Towns-Officer*. The *Hangman* and his *Man* follow'd after, both Array'd in *Priests-Vestments*, with *Crucifixes* upon their *Foreheads*, and every one of the *Officers* carry'd something: In this Manner they came to the *Cross*, where there was a *Fire* prepared. Into which they put our *Blessed Saviour's Picture*, the *Priests Vestments*, the *Crucifixes*, together with some *Consecrated Wafers*, the *Vulgar Latin Bible*, and some other Books, and *Burnt* them all. They beat the *Sides* of the *Chalice* together, and having thrown it into the *Fire*, they took it out again, pretending they wou'd sell it and give it to the *Poor*.

I have Inquir'd further into this Account from *Edinburgh*, it not being Easy to be Believ'd, in a *Christian* Country; And I have it from *Undoubted Hands*, and can now

give it to the Reader for a Certain Truth. And there were several other Aggravating Circumstances, which are not here set down. I desire to make the following Observations upon this.

1. The *Vulgar Latin Translation* of the Holy Bible, tho' not so Good as our *English Translation*, in the Main, is Better in several Particulars. However it is as much the Bible as Ours. We all here, Dissenters as well as others, Appeal every day from our *English* to the *Original*, in Disputed Texts. Must therefore our *English Bible*, if any Error or Mistake is found in it, be Burnt! Wou'd not this be call'd Burning the *Holy Scriptures* of God! As much is the other. There are various *Lections* of the *Originals*, as well as *Translations*. Must all be Burnt? Then there may not be a Bible left in the World!

2. Our Dispute with the Church of Rome concerning *Transubstantiation*, relates to the Manner of CHRIST'S Presence in the *Holy Sacrament*.

But all *Christian Churches* do Retain the Words of our Blessed Saviour and own, That it is His *Body and Blood*, tho' they cannot, nor ought to Presume to Define the Manner, because it is not Revealed.

Now to take that which we own to be the *Body of Christ*, in an *Ineffable* Manner, and to Burn it by the Hands of a *Hangman*——! *Horresco referens*——

3. Tho' I think all *Pictures* of God the Father to be utterly Unlawful, as being most Expressly Forbidden in the *Holy Scriptures*, as well as against *Sense* and *Reason*. And tho' the *Picture* of our Blessed Saviour as a Man, comes not under that *Prohibition*, because he was Really a Man; yet I think such *Pictures* of Him, do rather Depress and Lessen our Notion, even of his *Humanity*, which is not Adorable but upon the Account of his *Hypostatical Union* with the *Divinity*, which cannot be Express'd in a *Picture*; And therefore I cou'd wish, That there were not one such *Picture* in the World: Yet still, to Crucify the *Picture* of our Saviour, to Thrust

a *Spear* into its *Side* (where the *Top* of the *Halbert* went in, in this *Proceſſion*) and to *Burn* it by a *Hang-man*, is moſt *Abhorrent*, it is *Executing* of Him in *Effigie*, and as *Great Contempt* of Him as any *Heathen* or *Jew* cou'd ſhew. It wou'd not be *Born* among the *Mahometans*. They have a *Greater Veneration* for *Chriſt*. And ſuch a *Proceſſion* in *Conſtantinople*, wou'd have been *Puniſh'd* with *Death*.

4. A *Croſs* is no *Picture* or *Reſemblance* of any *Perſon*. But a *Proper* and *Lively* calling to *Mind* the *Paſſion* of our *Bleſſed Saviour*. And, as ſuch, was uſ'd in the *Primitive Church*. And *Croſſes* ſtand ſtill upon the *Churches* in *Geneva*. But the *Scots-Presbyterians* are the *Abhorring* of all *Fleſh*.

The *Teſt* in *Japan* for a *Chriſtian*, is the *Trampling* upon the *Croſs*. This is thought a *Sufficient* *Indication*, that he who do's it is no *Chriſtian*. By this the *Dutch* *Secure* that *Trade* to *Themſelves*. Yet I fancy wou'd *Startle* at *Burning* the *Bible*, or the *Holy Sacrament*, by which they *Commonly Swear*. For none upon *Earth* come up to the *Scots-Presbyterians*!

5. The *Prophaning* of a *Chalice*, or any thing *Dedicat-ed* to *Holy Uſes*, is their *Proper Food*. They have *Liv'd* upon it, ever ſince their *Reformation*. They know no ſuch *Sin* as *Sacrilege*, except in taking a *Ragg* from their *Covenant*!

6. Their *Rage* againſt the *Veſtments* of a *Popiſh Prieſt*, was equally meant againſt thoſe of the *Church of England*. They call our *ſimplice* a *Ragg* of the *Whore*, &c. and will *Burn* them, and *Us* too, by the *Hands* of the *Hangman*, whenever it is in their *Power*. Are the *Veſtments* our *Quarrel* with the *Church of Rome*? The *Veſtments* of the *Clergy* are *Separated* for *Holy Uſe*. But the *Perſons* who are *Dedicat-ed* to *God* are more *Sacred* than *Things*. The *Perſon* of *Aaron* was more *Sacred* than the *Temple*, as being a nearer *Type* of *Chriſt*. And to have *Robb'd Aaron*

of his *Vestments*, or to have *Prophan'd* them, wou'd have been Greater *Sacrilege*, than to have *Prophan'd* the *Utensils* of the *Temple*. And to Dress an *Hangman* in the *Robes* of a *Priest* of *God*, is such a *Contempt* of *God* as wou'd not have been born among the *Heathen*. They have a Greater *Regard* for *Religion*, than a true *Presbyterian*!

7. It is most *Astonishing*, That all this shou'd be done by the *Face* of *Authority*, by *Order* of the *Privy Council*, tho' *Presbyterians*. That they shou'd not have *Consulted* their *Honour*, at least, to *Act* such a *Publick* *Despise* to *Religion*, *Deliberately*, and in *Cool Blood*, as mu'tt make the *Ears* of all that *Hear* it to *Tingle*, and *Render* them most *Odious* and *Detested* to the whole *Christian* *World*!

8. I know nothing in *History* Equal to this, but what *Proceeded* from the same *Spirit*, which *Possess'd* the *Reforming* *Lords* and *Commons* in *England*, in the *Year* 1644. When *Forming* their *Directory*, which they set up in *Room* of the *Common-Prayer*, it was under *Deliberation*, whether they shou'd *Retain* in it the *Creed* and the *Ten Commandments*? Which being put to the *Question*, it was *Carry'd* in the *Negative*. And they were *Rejected*; And are not in the *Directory*. This you will see in the *Lord Clarendon's* *History of the Rebellion*. Vol. 2. Book viii. p. 452, 453.

Thus we find, That it is not *England* or *Scotland*, which of them is the *Worst*? But the *Faction* the *Party* the *Devil* in *Either*, who is now let *Loose* again, in the same *Shapes* in which he *Appear'd* formerly. And will go as far in the one *Kingdom* as in the other, where he is not *Resisted*.

The *Lord* *Rebuke* him. And his *Cursed* *Agents*,
And *Deliver* Us from them.

A M E N.

June 10.
1704.

F I N I S.

 POST-SCRIPT.

June 22. 1704.

THIS day I saw a Letter from *Edinburgh*, with this Note of Mr. **Webster's* Prayer, *last Sunday* (says the Letter) *from an Hearer*. His Words were these, *We Thank thee, O Lord, for Supporting the Cause of thy own People in our Neighbour Nation, by putting it in the Hearts of the Godly Lords there, so Stoutly to Oppose the very Wicked House of Commons.*

* A Great King-leader in *Edinburgh*.

I thought the Reader wou'd forgive me to tell him this Piece of News in a *Post-script*, the foregoing Sheets being almost wrought off, that I cou'd not Insert it in its proper Place. And I thought it worth the while, for these Reasons.

To shew how the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* Reckon themselves all One *Body* in *England* and in *Scotland*. And Concern themselves mutually for Each other.

And shou'd it not be so with the *Church*!

To Cure, if possible, that *Fatal* and *Sleepy Notion* in too many here, that we are not Concern'd at what they do in *Scotland*. That the *Dissenters* Here and There, are two Sorts of *People*. And that they in *Scotland* have no Design upon *England*. And that it is only their *Impertinence* to Meddle with our Affairs *Here*. No, it is their *Business*. And they are truly in the Right of it. For the Cause of the *Dissenters* can never Stand in *Scotland*, unless it Prevail in *England*. And their *Party*, as their *Principles*, are one and the same in Both *Kingdoms*. The Chief Council of whom, and the Principal Managers are *English Whigs*, whose *CABAL* in *London*, give out the *Necessary Orders*:

Orders through the whole *Body*, as well in *Scotland* as in *England*. As before in *Forty One*; in the *Rye-House Conspiracy*; in *Monmouth's Rebellion*, &c.

They begin in *Scotland* what they Intend to bring into *England*. This is a sure *Index*, as it was in the Times of *Forty One*. Thence came the *Covenant*. And there began the first *Up Roars* and *Tumults* against *Episcopacy*, the *Liturgy*, *Ceremonies*, &c. which soon after Flow'd with a *Strong Tide* into *England*,

And now see what they have Begun in *Scotland*, in far Greater *Tumults* than those (of *Women* only at first) which they Rais'd in the Reign of King *Char. I.* Even of 700 *Men in Arms*, expressly Renouncing Queen *Ann*, and Declaring that they will have none but a *Presbyterian* to Reign over them: And that their *Covenant* for the *Extirpation* of *Episcopacy* must be brought again into *England*. Yet no Notice taken of this, by the Dexterity of their *Managers* Here. At the same time that the Nation is fill'd with the Noise of a *Scotch-Plot*, on the other Side; the Bottom of which is not yet found out. I hope it will in the *Scots-Parliament*. But here is *Treason* and *Rebellion* Acted in the Face of the *Sun* by the *Presbyterians*, and no Inquisition made after it, tho' it cannot be Deny'd, and their *Declarations* Publish'd in *Print*. Yet none are Alarm'd! No *Jealousies* or *Fears* on that Side! Which makes good the *Character* given of Us, *That the English believe every thing they HEAR, but nothing that they SEE.*

Our *House of Commons* is *Insulted* by their *High-flyers* (they are all *High flyers* there) Openly in their *Pulpits*, and call'd *very Wicked*, because they are True to the *Church*, and wou'd not put the *Power of Destroying Her* into the Hands of the *Dissenters*, tho' they Allow them a Full and Free *Toleration*: At the same that they not only Refuse any *Toleration* to the *Church* there, but have made it *High Treason* to *Speak* or *Write* in Her Defence; And deny Her the *Liberty* to Administer either *Baptism* or
the

the *Lord's Supper* to those of her own *Communion*. And visibly Design, and Conceal not their Intention, totally to *Extirpate* Her, that She may Rise no more. Which they have, now in this *Reign* again *Vowed*, with the Engagement of *Lives* and *Fortune*, in the *Declarations* of both their *Provincial Synods*, at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*, which are *Printed* in the *New Association*.

And the more *Fiercely* they go on, the greater *Moderation* we put on, and *Passive-Obedience*! If any Speak in Behalf of *Episcopacy* now in *Scotland*, he is *Hang'd* by *Law*. And here, where the *Law* stands yet for the *Church*, such an one is *Stigmatiz'd* and *Branded*, as an *High-Church Man* and a *Papist*. None must speak of the *Dissenters*, but with *Profound Respect*! Nor mention what they have formerly done, or are now a *Doing*! The *House of Commons*, and those *Lords* who are for *Preserving* our *Present Laws*, the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* (to keep the *Dissenters* out of *Power*) are *Legion'd*, and *Million'd*, and *Observer'd*! And made the *Fest* even of *Scots-Whigs*! Such a *Scene* was never seen before, nor will be *Believ'd* in after *Ages*!

But they have a *Time* coming in *View*, and they *Hope* near at hand, when the *Church* of *England*, and *Old-England* shall be no more!

AVERTAT DEUS.

The following *Letter*, tho' of an old date, I have *Inserted* to shew what sort of *Things* their *Preachers* and *Kirk-Judicatories* are, to which *All* must now *Submit*.

S I R,

30 March 1704.

“ Yesterday *Baillie* dree'd his Repentance according to
 “ the Order of *Council*. But had a great deal of Re-
 “ spect shew'd to him by the many Salutations he receiv'd,
 “ and even Concern for him, by the Tears of many Gentle-
 “ women; As soon as he came off the *Pillory*, the great
 “ Crowd of By-standers, waving their Hats in the Air,
 “ gave him Three several *Huzzah's*; and Accompanying
 “ him to the *Nether-bow*, where he was deliver'd to three
 “ Companies of the Foot Guards, gave him a Fourth;
 “ being with much difficulty kept up from throwing of
 “ Stones at his new Guard, who at the *Mutresy-bill* de-
 “ liver'd him to two Troops of *Dragoons*, who had Or-
 “ ders to carry him to the Castle of *Blackness*. They say,
 “ When he was on the *Pillory*, a Country Woman who
 “ had come into the Mercate, ask'd her next Neighbour,
 “ Why such an Honest-like Man (for he was in good
 “ Dress) stood in that Scandalous Place? Was inform'd
 “ of the Cause; and then said, in the hearing of several,
 “ That she minded to have seen a very Honest Woman
 “ Scourged, and put upon that Place, and thereafter sent
 “ to the Plantations, for Averring she had seen Major * *Weir*
 “ lying with another Man's Wife. Who that same Day
 “ 12 Month at a Stake confess'd that and much worse.
 “ She made no Application, but the Story being in every
 “ body's Mouth, I have written it to prevent a Vacancy.
 “ I waited on the Brethren this Morning; Prayers said,
 “ Rolls call'd, Minutes of the last Sederunt read, Mr.
 “ *Stirling* presented a Letter from Mr. *Brown*, Minister of
 “ *Glasgow*, to this purpose, as near as I can remember;

“ Upon Sunday last, Mr. John Hepburn Preach-
 “ ed and Baptized within four Miles of this Place.
 “ There was a great Confluence of People from the
 Neigh-

* The
 Chief
 Sain of
 the Cove-
 nant. See
 his Extra-
 Ordinary
 History,
 Intitul'd
Ravillze
Redivivus.
 Printed
 for Walter
Kittley
 at the Bi-
 shops Head
 in St. Pauls
 Church-
 yard.

“ Neighbouring Parishes, and he has appointed a Meet-
 “ ing next Sabbath, within a Mile of this Town,
 “ his Design being to raise a Schism in this Kirk,
 “ and I fear is set upon this Way by the Enemies of
 “ Christ’s Kingdom ; tho’ it’s like he is so blind as not
 “ to see it. But I wish the Reverend Assembly wou’d
 “ take a speedy way to extinguish this Flame, lest as
 “ a Fire kindled in one Corner of a City consumes the
 “ whole ; it may Burn this poor Church to Ashes.

“ This being Read, and Heard with a great deal of
 “ Attention, and by some call’d a Great Letter ; There
 “ was an Overture brought in for putting the Church Dis-
 “ cipline in Execution against *Hepburn*, and one *Mac Millan*,
 “ formerly Depos’d by the Synod of *Galloway*.

“ After this, they nominated and instructed their Com-
 “ mission, and it being propos’d that Seven Ruling Elders,
 “ and Fourteen Ministers shou’d be a *Quorum*, it was
 “ Objected by Mr. *Foyers*, Minister at *Stan-house*, Four-
 “ teen was a very improper Number, there having once
 “ been in this Land so many *Bishops*. Upon which Grave
 “ and Weighty Consideration, the Number was augment-
 “ ed and made Fifteen. This done, and some Petitions
 “ Read, we Adjourn’d till Four of the Clock, to my
 “ great Contentment. At which time we met ; and, af-
 “ ter a good Sturdy Prayer, we fell to our *Synod-Books*,
 “ and upon them had some very Learned, and one very
 “ Odd Remark.

“ 1. The Synod of *Argyle* Ordered one of their *Pres-
 “ byteries* to Separate a Man from his Wife, because he
 “ was Married by a Husbandman in *Lochaber*, albeit they
 “ had Co-habited as Man and Wife several Years.

“ 2. The *Synod of Murray* had Order'd a Married Wo-
 “ man, who judicially Confess'd *Adultery*, to be proceed-
 “ ed against as a Slanderer of her self, the pretended Adul-
 “ terer having by Oath clear'd himself. These two Cases
 “ were earnestly press'd by some to be very well worth the
 “ Consideration of the Assembly. But that was Shift-
 “ ed.

“ I will trouble you only with another.

“ It was Remark'd by the *Visitors* of the *Synod-Books*
 “ of *Aberdeen*, That that *Synod* without any legal Proofs
 “ of his being Guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge,
 “ had Order'd the *Presbytery* of *Garioch* and *Turref* to Ex-
 “ communicate summarly *Ross* of *Rot-maes*.

“ Mr. *Huy*, Minister of *Birs*, said that the reason why
 “ the *Synod* had proceeded against that Person after that
 “ Method, was, because he was a very Debauch'd and Pro-
 “ fligate Man, it being most certain that he had lain with
 “ Five several Women at one and the same time, and that
 “ all the Five prov'd with Child; and to the foresaid *Pres-*
 “ byteries Confess'd their Great Sin with that Abominable
 “ Man.

F I N I S.

